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EDITORIAL

Anabaptism was sharply distinguished from Reformation Protestantism by its theory and practice of the church. Both Anabaptists and reformers were sure of this, although the Anabaptists never developed a systematic exposition of their church view. And down through the centuries the church has been at the very heart of the faith and life of the Mennonites; at least this has been the common understanding of Mennonite history, as well as of current Mennonite life. The main theme of the recent Mennonite World Conference (August, 1952, at Basel, Switzerland) was "The Church and Her Commission." A major address at this conference, which is published in this issue, "The Conception of Our Fathers Regarding the Church," by N. van der Zijpp, pastor of the Rotterdam Mennonite Church, the leading Dutch Mennonite historian, confirms and clarifies this general understanding, but adds a major note which is important though often overlooked. According to him there are two divergent types of church concept within the general Anabaptist view, namely, the "congregationalist" and the "spiritualist," meaning the more churchly and the more individualistic emphasis. The churchly type has been the dominant one throughout most of Mennonite history, and exclusively so, certainly, in Prussia, Russia, America, Switzerland, France, and South Germany. The spiritualistic type was sporadically represented among the early Dutch and German Anabaptists, but became very influential among the Dutch Mennonites of the nineteenth century and after. Radical "spiritualists" in the Reformation period, according to Alfred Hegler, Walther Köhler, and others, actually were not in the true sense Anabaptists, and should be considered only as a related group. Van der Zijpp's interpretation is an essential contribution to mutual understanding between Dutch Mennonites and the Americans and other groups in the present world-wide Mennonite brotherhood.

The second in the series of studies of the attitude of the reformers to the Anabaptists as manifested in their writings is offered in the current issue—a study of Luther. Interestingly enough, as John Oyer shows, Luther wrote very little directly on or against the Anabaptists, and in spite of his general leadership of the Reformation seems to have followed others, such as Melanchthon and Menius, in Anabaptist matters. He had no direct contact with Anabaptists, got his information as well as his views secondhand, and followed no consistent line. His argumentation against them sounds quite unconvincing today. In this area Luther was certainly not strong, as the Oyer study clearly shows in its valuable assembly of the evidence.

The Review is happy to publish in this issue the first careful studies ever made of the remarkable sixteenth-century Hutterite physicians and surgeons. The first is by a young Mennonite medical student, John Sommer, and the second a supplemental report by the well-known Hutterite authority, Robert Friedmann, giving a complete report on all known Hutterite physicians. The lengthy extracts from the "Regulation for Physicians" give a direct insight from the sources into the spirit and service of the Hutterite physicans, the best in Moravia at that time, and the extracts from the "School Regulation" reveal advanced sanitation and health practices. Hutterite medicine is unique in Anabaptist history, and outstanding in any evaluation of sixteenth-century European medicine. No wonder kings and noblemen sought the benefit of Hutterite skill.

For all its importance in Mennonite Church life no thorough study was ever made of Mennonite preaching until the recent dissertation on (Old) Mennonite preaching 1864-1944 by Roy Umble. This thorough study, using eleven outstanding and typical preachers of the time, gives a fine insight into the theology, piety, and spirit of the church which these preachers served and which they helped to make in large measure what it is today. The brief article here presented gives the general conclusions drawn from the study. The Annotated Bibliography of Published Mennonite Sermons, which appears in the Bibliographical and Research Section, is a helpful guide to further study in this field, particularly in Europe outside of Holland.

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THE CONCEPTION OF OUR FATHERS REGARDING THE CHURCH

N. Van der Zijpp

Menno Simons is reported to have said, while on his sickbed—which was to become his deathbed—that nothing on earth was as precious to him as the church. To him, the "church" denoted the Biblical-apostolic brotherhood that he had served and led for 25 years. One of the most important themes of our Mennonite history is that of the church—its basic idea and its rise, what it was and is in essence and how it was actually lived out in practice for more than 400 years.

Initially the testimonies of the Anabaptists concerning the church were preponderantly negative. This is easily explained. Everywhere they were in collision with a more or less consolidated church. In Zürich the first Anabaptist or Swiss Brethren congregation was confronted by the Zwinglian Church; in Moravia and Tirol it had to struggle against the Catholic Church; in Germany it faced the Lutheran Church; in the Netherlands it was again the Catholic Church that denied it the right of existence. On one point the Anabaptists and Mennonites (or whatever other name the members of this widely ramified movement may have had) were agreed, viz., that they always favored the concept of the brotherhood rather than that of the church. In Holland, e.g., when the martyrs were asked by the inquisitors whether they

acknowledged the Catholic Church as the church which was founded by Christ and which was therefore the true church of God, they replied without exception with an unambiguous no. The leaders and martyrs in Switzerland and South Germany were equally unified and energetic in refusing to recognize Lutheranism or Zwinglianism. Neither the church as Zwingli had reformed it, nor the church as Luther had purified and renovated it, could in their estimation be the true church of God.

The Catholic Church, the Anabaptists charged, with its abominations such as the papacy, Masses, and worship of images of many kinds, had removed itself so far from real Christianity that, as one of the martyrs says, a child could easily comprehend that it was not the true church of God. But it was not only Catholicism, but also Protestantism, Zwinglian as well as Lutheran —Calvinism was of later origin—to which they denied the character of a true Christian brotherhood. The motives are always the same: first, that the churches had to some extent placed themselves under the supervision or even the power of the secular governments and had thus become more or less state churches; second, that even if their doctrines were pure, reformation of life was lacking. At the parting of the ways between Zwingli and the "radical Bible readers" the primary point at issue was not baptism, but the nature of the church. Giving the city council authority to decide spiritual matters, as Zwingli had done, denoted in Grebel's judgment the beginning of the failure of the Zürich Reformation. Grebel's word to the parson of Hinwil (1525) is characteristic: "What sort of man are you? you should regard neither the council nor anyone else, and ought to do only what God has commanded! And what the mouth of God has spoken, that you must pursue!" Note also the letter of Conrad Grebel to Thomas Müntzer (1524), in which he asserts that everything in the brotherhood should proceed freely and without any use of force.

Therewith the brotherhood is negatively set apart, differentiated from the church. All the Anabaptists, Swiss Brethren, Hutterian Brethren in Moravia, Melchiorites, David Jorists, and Mennonites in Holland, were unanimous and certain that the brotherhood could never be maintained by the prevalent state church tradition or by the power of the state, because, subjectively considered, it is based on the principle that membership is personal and voluntary and that the Anabaptist brotherhood, and later the

Mennonites, was a voluntary church, a *Freiwilligkeitskirche,* as Ernst Troeltsch has designated it.

At this point the negative begins to become positive: The church is a brotherhood into which one comes upon a thorough conversion in faith, which at the same time means a conversion in the sense of a new basic morality in life. The second reproach made by the Anabaptists especially to the Reformers, was the absence of improvement in conduct. Menno observed that Luther had begun a good work, but then stopped; the tree had not produced fruit. The Reformation in Germany has failed, laments Hans Denk, because the Germans are living just as unchristian as before, gambling and drinking.

The above shows that the Anabaptists detached themselves from the churches because they had their own idea of the nature of the Christian brotherhood. What are their positive statements concerning the church? The Mennonites and Swiss Brethren intended to build a Biblical church, concerning whose foundation there was no doubt and no differences of opinion; the church is the church of Jesus Christ, the New Testament church which was formed by Christ's coming into the world among those who have united with Him, and which was built by the apostles. Hence, the directives and principles of church life are found in the New Testament. Only in the New Testament? Or also in the Old Covenant? They reply, on the whole only in the New. But this does not quite answer the question, for however sharply the New Testament may contrast with the Old, it always presupposes the Old Testament; the break between the Old and New Testament is not absolute; there is continuity in many respects, and both the Old Testament and the New Testament taken together constitute the Holy Scriptures, and were accepted as such by the Anabaptists. But in contrast to the Lutherans as well as the Calvinists, the distance between the New Testament and the Old Testament is considerable, and whereas the Old Testament—as also the Apocrypha—was used almost exclusively as illustrative, only the New Testament was considered valid for actual proof. This was the case with Menno Simons. He was concerned with the institution of the church on the pattern of the New Testament, but was not essentially influenced by the Old Testament concept of a people of God. The church is objectively founded upon the call of God: "Come unto Me," and subjectively upon obedience to his call. The fundamental words to the essence of the church are the words of Jesus (Matt. 18:20), "Where two or three are gathered to-

gether in My name, there am I in the midst of them"; this means that where two or three are gathered together in the name of Jesus Christ, i.e., not only as Christians in name, but as disciples of Christ, recognizing Him as Lord, receiving His grace with thanks, and ready to do His will, there Jesus is in their midst and there is the church and the kingdom of God already present.

On this point all are agreed: the church is the fellowship *(Gemeinschaft)* with the Lord and with one another on the basis of the call of God through Christ. But the difficulty lies in making this vision concrete. How does the idea of the Christian church as the actual fellowship of believers appear in practice? What problems, not merely practical ones, as, e.g., that of organization, but also questions of faith appear? What is the relationship between the personal piety of the individual and the church as a whole? These questions are important because they have to a large degree controlled our varied and very complicated group history. And however important they may be, the answer is not an easy one. Mennonite history has been extensively and intensively studied in the last century, but the historian's subjective interpretation has at times played tricks on him. Some have interpreted our history and the essence of Mennonitism from the point of view of individualism and have evaluated as genuinely Anabaptist the individual's faith as a "bond of a good conscience toward God," whereby the church becomes less important and at times really superfluous; but others have, from the point of view of current conditions in the church, projected too much of this concrete reality into history, whereby the church was given greater value and made the only haven of preservation in which the personal is finally and without reservation accommodated to the general objective reality and uncritically subjected to the whole. Both viewpoints have based their historical concepts on history. And in addition, each has argued on the basis of numerous Biblical texts. And both are right, for neither our history nor the Bible is unambiguous concerning the concept of the church. Just as the situation is at present among the Mennonites, it has always been. There have at all times been various views, parties, branches, divisions, and strife. In the course of history this state of affairs has become almost impossibly involved. The Anabaptists in South Germany and Alsace, who in 1555 and 1559 at Strasbourg declared themselves independent of Menno because they were unable to share his views of "the church without spot or wrinkle," and their numerous descendants in America, have adopted the name "Men-

nonite," whereas since the 17th century the Dutch Mennonites have gradually preferred to be called "Doopsgezinden." Furthermore, the Swiss Brethren, the "old-evangelical" Anabaptists have been as little touched by this change of name as by the question related to it, while the followers of Jakob Hutter with their communism based on love have arrived at an entirely different form of church organization.

If we are to examine the nature and meaning of the Mennonite Church correctly, we dare not take the modern views of our own groups as the starting point, nor dare each consider his present church or group as definitive, but we must go back to the sources. Unfortunately these sources are not abundant, though they are still quite clear. The martyrs said little of a positive nature about the church; their views were naturally usually defensive, and thus in regard to our subject, negative. They usually found it sufficient to say that the Lutheran or Catholic Church was not the church of God. Nor did the leaders of Anabaptism make any explicit, and almost never systematic, analysis of the church as a theory. They frequently limited themselves to the concrete characteristics of the church in the world. More would have been superfluous, for a citation of the characteristics with the Biblical proofs was enough for the opponents, and for their own members it was also sufficiently clear, because they bore the faith in the church steadfastly in their hearts. Nevertheless from the very beginning, a double line can be traced through Mennonite history. One is denoted by the names of Hans Denk, Obbe Philips, Hans de Ries, Galenus Abrahamsz, Joannes Stinstra, and Joost Halbertsma, the other by the names of Conrad Grebel, Michael Sattler, Menno Simons, Dirk Philips, Pieter Jans Twisck, Lambert Bidloo, Hermannus Schijn, and Cornelis Ris (Jacob Ammann and John F. Funk could also be included here.)

Let us first consider the latter group, which we shall call the "congregationalist" wing. All are agreed that the starting-point is the church, which is axiomatic; they believe that the church, as opposed to personal faith, is primary, that it is the true church of God, recognizable by its objective characteristics, and that it must exist as a holy church in the world and in contrast to the world. A close scrutiny reveals that the characteristics of this church are not always the same. For example, in the opinion of Menno Simons and Hermannus Schijn, in contrast to Dirk Philips and Twisck, footwashing is not one of the absolute characteristics of the church. There are also variations and changes in the concept

of the church. The views of the Dutch Old Flemish are quite different from those of the present (old) Mennonites in America, although their concept of the church is fundamentally the same. This can best be shown in the change in the concept of baptism. Baptism has always been the baptism of adults and on confession of faith; this fundamental character it has always and everywhere preserved. But both the practice and the evaluation of the baptismal act have been subject to changes. Besides baptism by pouring or sprinkling there has at times been immersion, sometimes as in Hamburg and in Holland, of equal value with pouring. At times also as here and there in Russia, the United States, Canada, and Paraguay immersion has been considered the only form sanctioned by Scripture. But not even the baptismal rite itself—and I am here discussing only the congregationalist wing, which lays great stress upon the church—has always received the same weight. At the beginning of Anabaptism in Zürich, a few days after the first church had been established, at a meeting in Zollikon communion was shared with nonbaptized persons; not baptism, but communion was obviously the tie which bound the believers to one another and to the Lord. It is noteworthy that in his earlier writings, e.g., the *Fundament-Boek* of 1539, Menno Simons says very little positive about the value of baptism. After discussing at length the abuses of baptism and exposing the idolatry prevalent in the Catholic Church in connection with baptism, he mentions that some say, "Of what benefit can water be to us"?, i.e., why are we to practice baptism; and Menno's reply is simply: "We want to perform baptism because Jesus has commanded it." There is no elaborate motivation. From this it is clear that the teaching on baptism originally did not have, even with Menno, the significance it later was given, especially for his followers. For afterward in the Netherlands, and also at other places, e.g., in Prussia, the practice arose among the stricter branches that one who .wished to transfer membership from an Old Flemish Mennonite congregation to a Frisian or Waterlander congregation had to submit to a second baptism. Here, as is still partly the case among the stricter groups, baptism was made the central point. It became the necessary rite of initiation, which had to be practiced in the right way and without which the believer could not belong to the church; the ceremony of baptism as such thus became more or less the condition for acquiring God's grace.

As long as the Anabaptists lived in strong faith and marvelled at the wonder that God in His grace would elevate them out of

the world and incorporate them into His kingdom, no need was felt to describe the essence of the church precisely; the church was here, and they were glad to live in it. Like their faith, their brotherly love was also great, and in particular, there was a willingness to suffer for the name of Christ. But when the first period was over and the thermometer of faith had dropped, the demand arose to define by reason what was meant by the church. Here came the parting of the ways. Several groups put such value on the church that they shriveled into narrow sects; on the other hand many were on the point of developing into a type of spiritual fellowship scarcely distinguishable from the state church *(Kirche),* and some of these groupings now and then joined some Protestant state church. Thus a part of the conservative Mennonites of Holland, known as the Zionists, united with the Reformed Church in the eighteenth century, from which their group differed only in the performance of baptism; this phenomenon of transfer can be observed here and there among the Mennonites in both the Old and the New Worlds.

Besides this "congregationalist" line in Mennonitism another has been discernible from the beginning. It has been called "spiritualism," and this name is very fitting, because here an almost exclusive importance is placed on the working of the Holy Spirit in the individual human heart. The important thing, so they say, is not that a church is established—at any rate the church must not regulate or govern the personal divinely awakened spiritual life—but that each one knows that God's grace is in his heart and is ready to submit to the rule of the Holy Spirit and be led by Him. Whether and to what extent the Holy Spirit is expressed directly in the heart or indirectly through the Holy Scriptures is a matter of indifference. The Spiritualists are a varied company, within which views and concepts often differ. With them everything is comprehended or at least interpreted subjectively. The church serves only as a gathering-place of the God-fearing individuals or as a field of activity of Christian love. It has, so to say, no intrinsic value, or at most only a secondary one. Baptism is regarded in spiritualist circles as the surrender of the heart to God; it has no worth toward salvation, it is merely a symbol of grace. It should not be supposed that this spiritualism was identical with an open or veiled liberalism, as has at times been said, in contrast to the congregationalist wing as orthodox or even "fundamentalist." Even if spiritualism showed a greater tendency to liberalism than did congregationalism, it is by no means the case, as some of us

think, that spiritualism was somewhat similar to free thought *(Freigeisteri.)* Was not the piety of many a martyr, including the most pious and most faithful, spiritualistic? Did not Galenus Abrahamsz, the noted preacher of Amsterdam, who without question favored spiritualism, accept the Apostles' Creed with conviction, in the opinion that in this ancient confession Christian truth is adequately presented and that it is suited as a "campaign symbol or a motto to differentiate Christians from Jews and heathen"? Is John Holdeman to be called a liberal? Nonetheless he showed obvious spiritualist traits.

Both congregationalism and spiritualism have from the beginning until now been two different types of genuine Anabaptism, both represented by outstanding Anabaptist leaders, both based on the New Testament. There are extreme representatives of both movements or trends, e.g., Hans Denk on the spiritualist and Dirk Philips on the congregationalist side. Spiritualism has always been and is still subject to the danger of individualism, whereby religious life shrivels into a barren, unfruitful egoism, while on the other side, congregationalism easily turns into ecclesiastical formalism through the overweight of tradition or even through rationalism, whereby the letter of doctrine kills spiritual Christian life.

In our history many can be cited, and there are still such, who, although they were by inclination quite spiritualist, were aware of the significance of the Christian brotherhood and gratefully participated in the blessing of church life, and likewise there have been and still are Mennonites of the congregationalist type, who are nonetheless sincerely convinced that faith is not a mere act of obedience, a subjection to the church or its representatives, or to a teaching occasioned and defined by the church, but an immediate relationship from and to God, which is to be experienced at all times as a deeply personal matter.

History, including our Mennonite history, has only slight significance for its own sake; it is, as George Simmel says, a mirror for the present. One of the most difficult and most painful problems of our present world Mennonitism is the open or concealed difference in the matter of the concept of the church. The contrast exists not only between the Dutch Mennonites on the one hand and the American Mennonites on the other. It is also apparent in the difference between the North German and the South German congregations. It can be observed in the variations among the North American groups; it creates a sharp cleavage between the

neighboring brotherhoods of Fernheim and Menno in the Paraguayan Chaco.

This contrast cannot be bridged by making either spiritualism or congregationalism absolute. History must teach us that both types were current in the very first Anabaptism. And as far as the current situation is concerned, we are not to build a Peter party, or an Apollos party, or a Paul party, as happened once in Corinth, but a family, all the children of one father, differently inclined, and therefore also differing in their religious views and needs, and nevertheless all merged into unity through faith in the grace of God and His love in Christ.

We must bear one another in love and build one another up according to an ancient saying, which, though to be sure not of Mennonite origin, is nevertheless suited to Mennonites: In what we agree, unity; in what we differ, tolerance; in everything love.

*An address delivered at the Fifth Mennonite World Conference at Basel, Switzerland in August 1952. Translated from the German.

THE WRITINGS OF LUTHER AGAINST THE ANABAPTISTS

John S. Oyer

Melanchthon was the most voluminous of the Wittenberg writers against the Anabaptists. Outside of a few specific works, Luther expressed himself against the Anabaptists mainly in short remarks brought into his writings somewhat incidentally, often in the form of illustration. Occasionally he devoted a letter to the subject, perhaps in answer to a request for instruction. His largest work against the Anabaptists, *Concerning Rebaptism, A Letter to Two Pastors,* was written under such circumstances. The two pastors had written to Luther, asking him for advice in dealing with the Anabaptists.[1] Another reason for the appearance of this pamphlet is that Luther wished to refute the inference of his being associated with a rebaptism movement. Luther was irate because Balthasar Hubmaier, in his book on rebaptism, had included a reference to Luther, as if he, Luther, ". . . were of the same foolish opinion on the matter as Hubmaier."[2] Luther's letter to Eberhard von Tannen, *Concerning the Sneaks and Hedge-Preachers,* was written apparently in response to Eberhard's questions about the group.[3] Upon occasion he supplied prefaces for books against the Anabaptists, but he himself never published a definite work against the sect. His attitude seems to have been one of general indifference to the Anabaptists except on those occasions when an opinion on the group was requested or was made otherwise necessary. Since he did not trouble to investigate the group thoroughly, his opinions cannot be considered very authoritative or accurate. To Luther the Anabaptists were chiefly an ill-defined group of fanatics and enthusiasts (*Schwärmer*).

Luther has little to say about the origin of the Anabaptists. In his preface to a book by Justus Menius written in 1544 he presents a chain of evidence which links the Anabaptists with Carlstadt and the Zwickau prophets.[4] It is reasonable to suppose, as Mackinnon sug-

[1] Martin Luther, *Von der Wiedertauffe an zwen Pfarherrn, ein Brief* (Nürnberg, 1528), 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1.

[3] Martin Luther, *Von den Schleichern und Winkelpredigern,* printed by Johan G. Walch, *Luther's Sämmtliche Schriften* (St. Louis, 1881), XX, col. 1664ff.

[4] Martin Luther, *Vorrede* to the work *Von dem Geist der Widertäufer,* printed by Walch, *ibid.*, col. 1760ff.

gests,[5] that Luther associated all Anabaptists with the Zwickau prophets, Carlstadt and Thomas Münzer. His opposition to the movement was to him a continuation of the struggle with these radicals. But he links the Anabaptists even more with Zwingli. He recognized Zwingli's alleged disapproval of the Anabaptists: Zwingli advocated the death penalty for Anabaptists before Luther did. But ". . . in baptism and the communion they are of exactly the same spirit. For both teach the same profession, namely, that there is simply water in baptism, and in the Lord's Supper simply bread and wine."[6] This is the beginning of a heretical tendency which eventually includes the teachings that Christians cannot be magistrates and that a sinful person cannot be the true spouse of a righteous believer.[7] Once heresy starts it cannot be stopped very easily.

The ultimate origin of Anabaptists is the devil. Of that Luther entertains no doubt whatsoever. He is not surprised to discover heresy, for the Scriptures have forewarned of its inevitable appearance. Matthew 18:7 reads: "For it must needs be that occasions come; but woe to that man through whom the occasion cometh." And in I Corinthians 11:19 we read: "For there must be also factions among you, that they that are approved may be made manifest among you." Christ is a King and Lord; therefore it is inevitable that He will be forced to fight. One should not be surprised that heretics make such atrocious disturbances against the truth. If it is not one group of heretics, it will be another. The devil spoke earlier through the papists, through whom he eventually established a market for souls. Now that the soul-market has been destroyed, he speaks through these fanatics. Luther is able to see light shining through the mist, however. The experience prevents one's becoming lazy, and he learns to handle the Word of God more carefully. Also, because of this continuous strife with the devil, the Truth of God appears to shine more brightly. Luther believes that books exposing the Anabaptist heresy, in particular the work of Justus Menius for which he is writing the preface, show how God, through the Anabaptists, strengthens our faith.[8] Menius's analysis and refutation of Anabaptist error in this instance was written in an attempt to justify to Philip of Hesse the execution of six Anabaptists by Prince John of Saxony.[9]

[5] James Mackinnon, *Luther and the Reformation* (London, 1930), IV, 57.
[6] *Vorrede* to *Von dem Geist der Widertäufer,* in Walch, *op. cit.,* col. 1762.
[7] *Ibid.,* col. 1762ff.
[8] Martin Luther, *Vorrede* to *Der Widder-tauffer lere vnd geheimnis aus heiliger schrifft widderlegt* . . . (Wittemberg, 1530), 1-4.
[9] Paul Schowalter, "Menius, Justus," *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main und Weierhof, 1913-), III, 76.

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In support of his contention that the Anabaptists come from the devil, Luther gives the following evidence in his preface to Justus Menius' book of 1530, *Der Widder-Tauffer vnd Greheimnis,* (The Doctrine and Mystery of the Anabaptists.)

1. They sneak into the houses and hide in rural areas. They refuse to preach in the open, as did the apostles, and as all respectable preachers do at the present time.

2. The heart of their teaching concerns temporal, mundane things, things that the rabble likes to hear. They talk of building a kingdom on earth in which all the ungodly will be slain and they alone will live in prosperity.

3. They teach that Christ will kill the ungodly, and that He entrusts the sword to their hands.

4. They say that I teach that good works are not worth a farthing. I contend that it is not good works that save a man, but rather faith alone. But that does not mean that one should not live a good life.[10]

In a later work directed to Eberhard von Tannen, Luther elaborates on the clandestine character of the Anabaptists as indicative of their diabolical origin. The fact that these persons sneak around from house to house and never come out in the open to do their preaching is a piece of clear, unmistakable evidence that they are the disciples of the devil. If they were true messengers of God, they would come first to the pastors and ask if they could preach their doctrine. Instead of coming like the dove of the Holy Spirit, they crawl like the snake that is the devil. Everyone is to be suspicious of them. The leaders, spiritual and civil, must continually remind the people to be wary of them. Luther emphasizes the importance of the office of preacher. People are to ask these sneaks from whom they received their commission to preach. The call or command to preach comes from God or through men for God. If God wants to raise up prophets outside the regular, ordained offices He will plainly indicate this with signs and deeds. Luther defends his own call to office: "God and the whole world must bear witness that I began openly in my office of doctor and preacher, and that I have continued by the grace and help of God."[11]

It is clear that Luther follows the customary pattern of including all kinds of rebaptizers and radicals under the name Anabaptists. In his preface to Menius' book, *Anabaptist Teachings*

[10] *Vorrede* to *Der Widder-tauffer lere . . .*, 4-6.
[11] *Von den Schleichern und Winkelpredigern,* Walch, *op. cit.,* col. 1670.

and Secrets Refuted by Holy Scripture, published in 1530, he mentions Anabaptists who teach that Christ will kill the ungodly and who believe that Christ has entrusted the sword to them.[12] This is probably a reference to the followers of Thomas Münzer. At one point in his preface to Menius' second book of 1544 he states: "It is the truth that Anabaptists and revolutionaries *(Schwärmergeist)* are one and the same spirit."[13] In this same preface he links Zwingli and Carlstadt with the Anabaptists.[14] "Anabaptist" thus becomes a broad and almost meaningless appellation which attempts to include all of the factions of deviants from the Lutheran movement.

Luther leaves the enumeration of Anabaptist errors to other writers for the most part. He wholeheartedly approves of the analysis of Menius in the latter's book, *Anabaptist Teachings. . . .* In his preface to the work he writes that in this book Menius has so powerfully refuted the Anabaptist heresy ". . . that if a cow could reason, she would have to say it is the truth."[15] Menius condemns erroneous Anabaptist teaching on the following points: faith and works, baptism, original sin, the Lord's Supper, the family, marriage, and government.

In Luther's largest work against the Anabaptists,[16] *Concerning Rebaptism, A Letter to Two Pastors,* he concerns himself primarily with their error in regard to baptism, i.e., infant baptism. He wrote the pamphlet in answer to the appeal of two pastors for advice in dealing with the Anabaptists, and to deny the inference in a pamphlet by Hubmaier that he, Luther, agreed with Hubmaier on the question of rebaptism. Mackinnon suggests a third reason why Luther might have written the pamphlet. Some of the peasants had become hostile to Luther because of his rejection of them during the Peasants' War. Now they were beginning to turn to the Anabaptists. Luther therefore wished to counteract Anabaptist error because the movement was gaining too many adherents.[17] Let us follow his argument.

Luther apologizes at the outset for appearing rather papist in his attitude. He notes, as a slight reprimand, that these two pastors themselves are guilty of a kind of Anabaptism: they have allowed certain persons to be rebaptized in Latin, since their first

12 *Vorrede* to *Der Widder-tauffer lere . . .*, 5.
13 *Vorrede* to *Von dem Geist . . .*, Walch, *op. cit.*, col. 1762.
14 *Ibid.*
15 *Ibid.*, col. 1760.
16 *Von der Wiedertauffe . . .*, published in 1528.
17 Mackinnon, *op. cit.*, IV, 58.

baptism was in German. As a pope, Luther tells the pastors this was not necessary. His real reason for the apology is that throughout the entire pamphlet he appears too legalistic, this in reaction to the Anabaptists' extreme subjectivism. They want to carry the matter of faith too far; so Luther inserts a plea for the legitimacy of historic Christianity as against their appeal to Scripture. He gives three main reasons why the Anabaptists have been teaching rebaptism.

1. Some have decided upon rebaptism solely to vex the Pope. Such wish to have nothing to do with anti-Christ. But, Luther asserts, this is a false ground for belief. Using the same line of reasoning one would have to form new Scriptures. The Old Testament would have to be discarded, too, since it comes from unbelieving Jews. Further, in order to be consistent, such persons should not handle money which the papists and the Turks have handled. But this is pure folly. Christ found much misuse of God's Law among the Scribes and Pharisees; but He did not discard the Law because of its misuse. There are certain right and true teachings which popery has left us. These are: the Holy Scriptures, baptism, the right observance of the Lord's Supper, the key to forgiveness of sins, the office of minister, and certain catechisms such as the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Confession of Faith. It is true that the Pope is the anti-Christ. He works within the body of Christ, i.e., Christianity, but he works against it. But we should not destroy the whole structure of Christianity merely because of the Pope. Luther feels that the Anabaptists should help clear up misuse, and that the reason they do not is because they are jealous since they did not get at it first. Instead of helping to fight the papacy, they are like the two brothers in the Thuringian forest who met a bear. The bear knocked one of them to the ground. The other, intending to help his brother, drew his sword and thrust at the animal. But instead of striking the bear, he ran his brother through. Thus the Anabaptists, in trying to fight popery, really do more harm to the Lutheran cause.[18]

2. Some are rebaptized because they know nothing of their own baptism and say, how do you know you are baptized? You believe men who say it is so. You must believe God himself. But, replies Luther, if one follows this pattern of reasoning, he can never be certain who his parents are. Nor can he be certain who is ruler of the land. Eventually the argument would lead to utter

[18] *Von der Wiedertauffe . . .*, 2-5.

anarchy. Luther explains that to believe God and not men means not to believe men alone. But this does not deny that some men might say something that is in agreement with God's Word, too. You are therefore certain of your baptism because it is the work and will of God, to which work men bear witness.[19]

3. Some are rebaptized because they believe that baptism should be performed only on the basis of faith. They refer to the verse: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" (Mark 16:16). At this point Luther turns skeptical. How, he asks, can anyone be certain that the man who professes his faith really possesses that faith? He confesses it, yes, but the verse does not read "He that confesses and is baptized shall be saved." Men are inveterate liars; and no man can read the heart of another. It is illogical to teach the baptism of believers only, since it is impossible to know whether or not the believers really believe. Further, how can the believer himself be certain of his faith? Surely the devil will tempt him to feel that his faith at the time of baptism was not true faith. Then he will have to confess again and be baptized a third time. This could go on indefinitely. Believers' baptism was clearly too subjective for Luther.[20]

The Anabaptists object to infant baptism because infants are incapable of having faith, says Luther. He then uses the illustration of John the Baptist in the womb of his mother, Elizabeth, to show that infants do possess faith. When Christ spoke through the mouth of his mother, Mary, John leaped in his mother's womb. This was evidence of his possessing faith.[21] Luther also makes brief reference to Christ's calling the children to him, and stating that the kingdom of God was theirs.

As to the relation between faith and baptism, Luther has this to say: "It is true that at baptism one should have faith, but he should not be baptized on the basis of his faith. To have faith and to be baptized on the basis of that faith are two different things. He who is baptized on the basis of his faith is uncertain; he builds on a sign. . . . One should be baptized on the basis of God's Word and commandment. Then even if faith is not present, the baptism is right and sure."[22] God has made a covenant with the entire world, and the sign of that covenant is baptism. We are baptized solely because it is God's will that we be baptized.

[19] *Ibid.*, 5-10.
[20] *Ibid.*, 10-11.
[21] *Ibid.*, 13-14.
[22] *Ibid.*, 23.

Luther then musters his arguments in favor of infant baptism:

1. The practice of infant baptism dates from the time of the apostles. If one wishes to change a practice of centuries, he must thoroughly prove that it is against God's Word.

2. In the history of the Christian Church no heresy remained permanently; rather, each heresy existed for only a relatively short time. If infant baptism were truly heretical, God would not have allowed it to remain so long in practice.

3. Faith is a gift from God. But on those disobedient to His commands, God does not bestow His gifts.

4. If infant baptism is wrong, there would have been no true baptism in the Christian Church for one thousand years, since for the past thousand years only infant baptism has been practiced. But this would in effect annul one of the articles of faith: I believe in one holy church.

5. Paul writes that the anti-Christ will sit in the temple of God. Now if the temple is God's then it is clearly not heretical. Therefore this temple has the true baptism.

6. God has made a covenant with the world, the sign of which is baptism. Who could exclude the infants? The old covenant had circumcision as its sign, which applied to infants; therefore baptism likewise applies to infants.

Luther adds that the Anabaptists regard baptism as a human trifle, similar to other papist practices such as the application of salt, the blessing of crosses, and the use of holy water. But baptism to Luther is God's commandment; men are commanded to be baptized. To regard baptism lightly is to disobey God.[23]

The Anabaptists are accused by Luther of magnifying rebaptism to such an extent that their righteousness becomes one of works and not of faith. By this he means that they rely so completely on the efficacy of the act of rebaptism that the act itself no longer serves to either engender or increase faith. That constitutes a reversion to popery.[24] The Anabaptists, he feels, are carrying his faith principle too far, much farther than he intended that it should be carried. They want to make baptism contingent upon faith; but baptism is based not on the faith of the individual but rather on the fact that God commanded that men be baptized. When it comes to a difference between man's faith and the Word of God, one clearly chooses the latter, because faith, compared to God's Word, is fickle and vacillating.[25]

[23] *Ibid.*, 24-30.
[24] Ibid., 19, 20.
[25] *Ibid.*, 31.

Another Anabaptist misconception that Luther wishes to correct is that the priest performing the baptism must himself believe at the time of the sacrament. Thus, according to the Anabaptist teaching, St. Peter himself could baptize someone, and no one could be certain that at the moment of the baptism Peter possessed faith or doubted slightly. Thus one could not be certain that the baptism was valid. Luther complains that this makes baptism contingent on the holiness of men, instead of basing it upon the command of God. The wise men heard of the birthplace of Christ from the mouth of murderous King Herod, and yet they found the Christ child. And it must be admitted that even the Anabaptists have some principles founded on Scriptures. Therefore he who hears their teaching and believes is saved, in spite of the fact that the Anabaptists are heretics who slander Christ. The efficacy of God's Word in baptism is not contingent upon the faith or morality of the human agent.[26]

Luther moved very slowly to the conviction that Anabaptists should be executed. From the beginning of his movement he was tender on the matter of killing heretics, probably because he himself was a trifle too close to burning. In 1518 he wrote: "Burning heretics is against the will of the Holy Ghost."[27] And in 1520 he asserts in his *Address to the German Nobility*: "One should overcome the heretics with Scripture and not with fire. If it were scholarly to overcome heretics with fire, then the executioners would be the most learned doctors on earth."[28] Again, on the question of forcing people in matters of faith, he wrote in 1523: "The soul's thoughts and reflections are revealed to no one but God; therefore it is impossible to compel one with physical force to believe this or that. Another kind of compulsion does it; physical force does not."[29] And in 1528 he wrote in one of his letters: "You ask whether the magistrate may kill false prophets. I am slow in a judgment of blood even when it is deserved. In this matter I am terrified by the example of the papists and the Jews before Christ, for when there was a statute for the killing of false prophets and heretics, in time it came about that only the most saintly and innocent were killed. . . . I cannot admit that false teachers are to be put to death. It is enough to banish."[30]

[26] *Ibid.*, 21, 22.

[27] *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar, 1883-1939), I, 624.

[28] *Ibid.*, VI, 455.

[29] *Ibid.*, XI, 264.

[30] Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand* (Nashville, 1950), 314. Bainton quotes from *Briefwechsel* in *Weimar Ausgabe*, IV, 498, 499.

The same idea is reiterated in his pamphlet, *Concerning Rebaptism, A Letter to Two Pastors,* published the same year, against the Anabaptists: ". . . I am really distressed that these poor people should be so pitifully murdered, burned, and horribly put to death. Everyone should be allowed to believe what he likes. If he is wrong, he will be punished enough in hell fire."[31] Luther was not ready at this point to treat the Anabaptists as did the Zwinglians, who had already pronounced the death penalty against them in 1526.

In 1530 Luther still held that it is impossible to force people in matters of faith. But there were two offences which he believed were punishable by death: sedition and blasphemy. Here the emphasis was shifted from incorrect belief to its public manifestation by word and deed. And Luther gave the broadest possible interpretation to sedition and blasphemy. To teach that a Christian might not be a magistrate was sedition, and to teach against any Scripturally-based article of a creed was blasphemy. Luther's liberality in the treatment of heretics was waning.[32]

In 1531, in response to a request from Prince John of Saxony, Melanchthon delivered a memorandum on the subject of punishment for Anabaptists. He advocated the use of the sword in punishment.[33] Luther endorsed this decision with the following annotation: "I assent. Although it may seem cruel to punish them with the sword, it must be recognized that they damn the ministry of the Word, possess no true teaching themselves, and suppress that which is true, and wish to destroy the civil order."[34]

In 1540 Luther apparently had returned to the milder position of Philip of Hesse in regard to the punishment of the Anabaptists. He held that only seditious Anabaptists should be executed; the others should be merely banished. The following is quoted from his *Table Talks*: "Should the Anabaptists be killed? To this Dr. M. Luther answered and said: 'There are two kinds of Anabaptists. Some are open revolutionaries and teach against the magistracy. These the ruler should have tried and killed. Others, however, have wild delusions and opinions; such are usually banished.' "[35] What Luther considered a teaching against the mag-

[31] *Von der Wiedertauffe . . .*,1-2.

[32] Martin Luther, *Der 82. Psalm ausgelegt,* printed in the *Weimar Ausgabe,* Vol. XXXI, Part 1, 207-209.

[33] Printed by Paul Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens und des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen zur Täuferbewegung* (Münster, 1910), 25-27.

[34] *Ibid.*, 27.

[35] Martin Luther, *Ander Theil der Tischreden D. Martinus Luthers . . .* (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1567), 243.

istracy is not clear. Earlier he had called abstention from public office sedition. But his position at this point is milder than that of Melanchthon, who held that all Anabaptists except the misled who recanted should be killed.

Luther apparently had no first-hand information on the Anabaptists. He had access to books written by pastors at the frontiers of his movement. He probably also had limited access to the works of some of the Anabaptists themselves. But there is no evidence to indicate a personal contact with them. Köhler writes: "Luther apparently did not have an exact knowledge of Anabaptist literature; he had only 'heard,' or he 'knew,' or he had 'read.' "[36] Luther indicated at the beginning of his 1528 work that he did not know the Anabaptists, since they had not yet penetrated to Saxony. He even chided the two pastors for not giving him any information concerning these people. "We in our prince's land have had none of the scum of such preachers, God be praised and thanked in Eternity. . . . Therefore I have had few thoughts indeed against the devils, because it was not necessary here."[37] He must refer in this instance to the Swiss or Hutterian Brethren since he certainly did know the Zwickau prophets, Carlstadt, and to a lesser extent Zwingli, all of whom he styled Anabaptists. There is little indication in later writings that he learned to know the Anabaptists any better; there is no indication whatever that he learned to know them personally.

It is well to remember that Luther brought to his consideration of the Anabaptists the medieval assumption that a church practice of long standing must be proven wrong before it can be discarded. An appeal to the fact that Scripture did not support the practice fell on deaf ears. What the Scripture did not expressly forbid should be continued. The Anabaptists, of course, believed that Christians should practice nothing that was not explicitly commanded by Scripture. There was no meeting-ground in this case; assumptions were simply too deeply entrenched.

A second assumption which Luther brought to his consideration of the Anabaptists was that the truth of God can be known, which places a heavy obligation upon the church to preserve it. On this point Bainton writes: "The . . . point to remember alike in the case of Luther and Melanchthon is that they were quite as much convinced as was the church of the inquisition that the

[36] Walther Köhler, "Luther, Martin," *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, II, 704.

[37] *Von der Wiedertauffe . . .*, 1.

truth of God can be known, and being known lays supreme obligation upon mankind to preserve it unsullied. The Anabaptists were regarded as the corrupters of souls. Luther's leniency toward them is the more to be remarked than his severity."[38]

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LUTHER'S WRITINGS AGAINST THE ANABAPTISTS

1. *Bericht an Melanchthon von den neuen Propheten, welche die Kindertauffe verwerfen.* January 13, 1522. This is written about the Zwickau prophets.
2. *Eyn brieff an die Fürsten zu Sachsen von dem auffrurischen geyst.* 1524. This is written about Münzer, and indirectly, Carlstadt.
3. *Brief an Lazarus Spengler.* February 4, 1525.
4. *Predigten,* February 2, 9, 16, 23, 1528.
5. *Von der Wiedertauffe an zwen Pfarherrn, ein Brief.* 1528.
6. *Vorrede* to Justus Menius's book *Der Widder-tauffer lere vnd geheimnis* . . . 1530.
7. *Der 82. Psalm ausgelegt.* 1530.
8. *Schreiben an die Grafen von Schlick, den Ort Joachimsthal von Schwärmern rein zu halten.* October, 1532.
9. *Brief an Eberhard von der Tannen, von den Schleichern und Winkelpredigern.* 1532.
10. *Predigt von der Heiligen Taufe.* January 6, 1535.
11. *Vorrede zur Neuen Zeitung von den Wiedertäufern zu Münster.* 1535.
12. *Vorrede* to Urbanus Rhegius's *Widderlegung der Münsterischen newen Valentinianer vnd Donatisten* . . . 1535.
13. *Ander Theil der Tischreden D. Martinus Luthers.* 1538-1540.
14. *Kurzes Bekenntnis vom heiligen Sacrament wider die Schwärmer.* September, 1544. This is directed against Zwingli and Carlstadt among others.
15. *Vorrede* to Justus Menius's book *Von dem Geist der Wiedertäufer.* 1544.
16. *Predigt Luthers über das Evangelium Matthäi 13:24.* February 7, 1546.

(Numbers 5, 6, 13, and 15 are to be found in the original prints in the Goshen College Library.)

[38] Bainton, *op. cit.*, 378.

HUTTERITE MEDICINE AND PHYSICIANS IN MORAVIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

John L. Sommer

In the Hutterite brotherhood in Moravia during the sixteenth century there are known to have been doctors of considerable ability. It is somewhat surprising to learn, however, that there are no writings of any kind from the pens of any of these doctors, even though the writings of the Hutterites in other respects are rather extensive.[1] Our information about the medicine and health practices in the Hutterian communities comes to us from the School Regulations, the Barber-Surgeons Regulations *(Bader-Ordnungen)* and writings in the chronicles concerning the activities of the various Hutterite doctors. In addition we also obtain some valuable information from the harsh critic of the Hutterites, Christoph Andreas Fischer, whose writings contain some important testimonies regarding the esteem in which the nobles held the Hutterite ability in healing. Also there are a few sources other than those mentioned which give pertinent information concerning the work of the Hutterite doctors and physicians.

The existing writings relating to the subject do not permit an exhaustive survey of medicine as it must have been practiced in the Hutterite communities. Practically nothing is definitely known concerning specific treatments, diseases, and methods employed by the Hutterite doctors. Only general statements concerning such matters exist. Although these statements undoubtedly reflect the thinking of the doctors in the communities, they are not known to have been written by, or on the order of, the doctors. We do, however, have writings which indicate clearly the relation of Hutterite doctors to the Hutterite society.

Our best source of information concerning community health measures and matters of hygiene is found in the *Schul-Ordnung* of 1578 and in the address of chief bishop *(Vorsteher)* to an assembly of schoolmasters in 1568. The former document is in the nature of a manual of instruction for schoolmasters. The Hutterite educational system provided for the care and training of children

[1] At the time of writing this study, the existence of the *Arznei-Handbüchl* of 1635 was not yet known. Cpr. the following article by Robert Friedmann, item 7, "Johannes Spengler."

from their second year of life until they began to learn a trade. Thus the schools served as homes as well as educational institutions for the children. They also included some non-Hutterite boarding pupils. At a time when elementary education was in a generally wretched state all over Europe, the level of education among the Hutterites was high. In addition, the entire society of the Hutterites was thoroughly religious, and each activity engaged in was conceived as an integral part of life whose chief end was the glory of God and the promotion of His purposes on the earth.[2] We shall here quote at some length from the *Schul-Ordnung* of 1578:

Herein are recorded several necessary points which the brethren and sisters who are appointed to supervise the schools, together with their assistants, are to observe in the care and discipline of the youth.

In the first place they must constantly keep in mind that they are appointed over the children by the Lord and by His people.

* * *

They shall take care that no disunity, strife, or boisterous speaking is heard by the children, but rather by a peaceful, cheerful, good-natured and sober life and quiet walks they shall inspire the youth likewise to quiet and sober living and give them a good example.

* * *

In the morning the girls shall be called at five o'clock in winter to spin. Then at six o'clock the boys are to be awakened and while the latter are dressing, combing, and washing, the smaller children are to be taken out, dressed, and washed, and after they have had a bit of exercise and been walking about they may be taken to their meals, so that they are not fed at once after awakening from sleep, which is unnatural.

* * *

The brethren in the schools have already been instructed by the elders that they shall not manifest wrath toward the children and shall not strike the children on the head with the fist nor with rods, nor shall they strike on the bare limb, but moderately on the proper place. It is necessary to exercise great discretion and discernment in disciplining children, for often a child can be better trained and corrected and taught by kind words when harshness would be altogether in vain, while another can be overcome by gifts. A third however cannot be disciplined without severity, and does not accept correction. Therefore the exercise of discipline of children requires the fear of God.

* * *

The bed clothing shall be kept clean and shall be regularly changed, and when little children arise in the morning a sister or two or three girls must always be at hand to take care on the stairways that no one falls.

When the children are brought to the school they should be carefully examined and if any one is found to have a contagious disease such

[2] H. S. Bender, "Editorial," *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, V (1931), 230.

as scurvy or French disease (syphilis) or *lem*,[3] the same should be instantly separated from the rest in sleeping and drinking and in particularly in washing. Also special brushes and combs shall be used in taking care of the hair of those having skin eruptions. Those who have such eruptions shall be put together and not kept with those who are clean. Likewise those who have head diseases. If a child suffers or receives an injury on account of carelessness of whatever sort it may be, the injury shall not be concealed, but help and counsel shall be sought as soon as possible before greater injury comes of it.

And when the school mothers examine the children for bad mouths and reach into a bad mouth with the fingers, they shall be careful that they do not at once with unwashed fingers reach into a healthy mouth and thereby contaminate it, but shall always beforehand cleanse the fingers with a clean cloth and water before they examine and cleanse mouths. They shall likewise demonstrate to the sisters with them how to heal scurvy of the mouth, and not withhold this from them that others also may be able to attend to such things if they are appointed for it.

* * *

In the case of diseased heads and bad mouths the school mother shall take especial care, in particular about contagious diseases, and shall arrange for a separation in all matters, as in part already stated, as for instance in the matter of beds, washing, eating, drinking, using spoons and cups, also in the matter of examining the mouth and sitting on stools.

Once a week the clothes of the children shall be examined for lice, likewise the clothes of the children when they come to school. The new children shall have their heads and clothing examined for lice.

* * *

One should not let the shoes of the children become too hard so that they cause blisters and the parents may have occasion for complaint. Therefore care should also be taken that the clothing and everything else is regularly repaired.

* * *

The food which is to be given to the children they shall not be forced to eat. Drinking shall also be attended to so that drinking is not postponed too long or refused so that the thirst does not become so great that they drink to excess, which is harmful.

And for the sick children especially one should be free to ask the cook for that which they may need; yet this should be done orderly and not each sister run to the cook on her own account, but the request should be made on advice of the school mother.

When children are sick one should not be too severe with them if they ask for this or that, but should in true faithfulness as unto God be diligent in waiting upon them, in lifting and laying down, in cleaning and washing.

* * *

If a child will not keep quiet during the admonition it shall be taken out so that the other children may not become restless, for sometimes

[3] According to the translator, the meaning of this word could not be determined. There is a possible, but not obvious, relationship here with the German word *lähmung* which means paralysis.

one child is itchy, another one thirsty, a third has some other need which one does not know. For this reason it is not possible to bring everything in order by using the rod.

* * *

All this which has been written and told at some length is a pattern of how counsel should be given to those who are concerned with the schools. At times more should be said and at times less, just as is necessary at each place according to the circumstances. By this each one will know how to conduct himself so that the honor of the Lord may be promoted.[4]

The address of the chief bishop to the assembly of schoolmasters in the year 1568, anticipates the content of the *Schul-Ordnung* of 1578; stating:

Also, you, together with the sisters, must pay attention to the shoes which make the feet sore. Where shoemakers are at hand you should have the shoes frequently repaired and greased so that they will be nice and soft and so that not too many shoes are bought, as has happened in some cases and afterward they become too small or are spoiled.

Further, you should yourselves sleep with the children and should be present when they get up and should yourselves look after putting the children to bed and not rely altogether upon the bedroom maid. You should make sure that the children who are well are kept together and those who are not well are kept together. The same caution should be taken to keep those together who have eruption and make sure that the bed clothing for such is washed separately by itself.

Further, in regard to the children who are not well, or where there is uncertainty, the bed clothing and night shirts of such should not be mixed with the clothing of the children or washed together with it. It should be kept by itself. Likewise in the food and drink one cannot take too much care, for there is very much danger among so many children. The same thing is true in regard to washing and bathing, the two should not be mixed. You must take care and watch carefully to bathe and wash the unclean children by themselves. You must take care yourself that the sisters do not make the water for bathing too hot for the children. You should feel with your own hands whether it is not too hot, and if it is too hot you should forbid the sisters to use it, for it has often been the case that the skin of the children has become red like a crab and yet they would say: "why that is not too hot; you are not to bother yourself about such things." But you must not pay attention to such remarks.

Further, if a child has eczema, you should not let it be bathed or washed so often. It often has happened that although a child reported

[4] "A Hutterite School Discipline of 1578 and Peter Scherer's Address of 1568 to the Schoolmasters" translated by H. S. Bender, *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, V (1931), 232-41. The above passage, from its various wordings and sentence structures, is apparently a quite literal translation of the original document. Unfortunately, the original was not obtainable for purposes of checking the general translation and, more particularly, the translation of such words as "scurvy" and "exzema." Dr. Lydia Müller, who has reviewed Beck's copies of the original documents, mentions by way of quoting the word *Grind*, which undoubtedly refers to the condition which is called "scurvy" or "eczema" by the translator. (Lydia Müller, "Der Kommunismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer," *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, Jhrg. 45, Heft 1, Nr. 142 [Leipzig, 1927], 103.) [*Note by Editor.* The word translated "scurvy" is *"feil,"* and the phrase *"die grindigen"* is the original for "skin eruptions." Note also the German terms and phrases, *"die kretzigen, mundtfeil, reidige, grindige kepf."*]

this ailment, nevertheless it has been compelled to bathe, and it was told: "Oh, that will not hurt you, you bad boy, or bad girl."

Further, you should not bathe the children every fortnight, for this is not necessary, but bathe them once in four weeks and wash them every fortnight, unless there is a special reason or on account of bad heads.[5]

In the Hutterite communities a sick person was to be treated with the utmost consideration. Contrary to the earlier Christian belief that sickness was the result of sin, the Hutterites looked upon sickness as a lack of harmony which nature should cure.[6] There is no trace of thinking among the Hutterites which would attribute sickness to God's recompense.

The Hutterites had a very definite certain feeling for the meaning of contagion. The Hutterite schools are said to have been the first in Europe in which scientific methods were used for the prevention of the spread of certain contagious diseases.[7]

It would appear from the above-quoted address of the bishop to the schoolmasters in assembly that frequent bathing was not considered important in the Hutterite communities. Bathing for the purpose of removing dirt from one's body was considered a luxury, whereas bathing for health's sake was recommended and practiced. The nobles of Moravia gladly frequented the baths of the Hutterites, who maintained a number of them.[8] Loserth writes that their baths enjoyed a great patronage, the most famous baths being located at Tscheitsch, Pausram, and Voitsbrunn.[9] Fischer wrote in one of his tirades against the Hutterites:

> The puffed-up physicians (*Bader*) ride up and down through the countryside. Every Saturday their baths are packed full of Christians.[10] And not alone the common people, but also the big shots come running to them if they ever need treatment as if the Anabaptists were the only ones who possessed this art in the entire region.[11]

In another place Fischer writes;

> They (the nobles) drink and eat with them (the Hutterites), in-

[5] *Ibid.*, 241-44.

[6] The latter idea, according to Castiglioni, is the Hellenic idea which had its origin in the hedonistic concept of life. Although the two conceptions of life, viz., hedonistic and Hutterian (if we may put it this way), shared the above idea, the Hutterian society was and is a far cry from hedonism.

[7] Bertha W. Clark, "The Hutterian Communities," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXXII (1924), 373. Clark here refers to Rudolf Wolkan, *Die* Hutterer, 74.

[8] A. H. Newman, "Balthasar Hubmaier and the Moravian Anabaptists," *The Goshen College Record Review Supplement*, XXVII (1926), 19.

[9] Johann Loserth, "Der Kommunismus der Mährischen Wiedertäufer im 16. und 17. Jhdt.," *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte*, 81. Bd., 1 Hälfte (Wien, 1894). Kapitel 7: "Die Arzneikunde und Bäder der Wiedertäufer," 275-76.

[10] Here Fischer refers only to Catholics as Christians, as is his custom.

[11] Fischer, *ibid.*, 85 (as quoted by Loserth, *Kommunismus*, 275-76).

vite them as guests, employ their barber-surgeons whom they call in their sickness, take pharmaceuticals from them, and trust to them the bringing up of their children. The whole countryside demonstrates that this is the case.[12]

In addition to the above-mentioned *Schul-Ordnung* and various other *Ordnungen,* there were the *Bader-Ordnungen* or regulations for medical practice. The oldest *Bader-Ordnungen* are, unfortunately, no longer in existence. The ones which do exist[13] are from the years 1592, 1633,[14] 1635,[15] 1637, 1654,[16] and 1657. Thus, these are for the most part from a time when the Hutterites had already left Moravia, and had moved their communities to Slovakia. The various statements made in these *Bader-Ordnungen* indicate that not only did the "Bader"[16a] possess a good reputation, they had earned it as well.[17] It is from these *Bader-Ordnungen* that we are able to discern the relationship of the doctors to the communistic Hutterite communities, and to discover some of the social discontents arising over the situation in which the doctors found themselves.

The Bader were obliged by their occupational position and also for the sake of their own salvation to care assiduously for the needs and well-being of the brotherhood. In any situation their industriousness and sobriety, their sincerity and honesty were to be evident. The Bader were to read diligently in the books of pharmacy, and not to travel far from their places of occupation, so that they would be at hand as soon as they were needed. They were to gather herbs and roots industriously, to befriend all people, and to give curt answers and sarcastic remarks to no one. Their instruments were to be kept immaculately clean and sharp, so that the peasant farmers would not weep during the cutting of hair, blood-letting, or cupping.[18] In the bath, the Bader were to be friendly and were to take a positive interest in the people. The

12 *Ibid.,* 274.

13 Loserth, *ibid.,* 276.

14 Josef Beck, *Die Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn,* (Wien, 1883), 440 and footnote. This footnote of Beck's is given here. "D. i. die alte Bader-Ordnung erneuert und den Genossen zu Gemüthe geführt, die sie ausser Acht gelassen, so dass 'da ainer gemainschafft Nichts gleich war und die Jugend so verderbt frech, ungehrosam und maisterloss wordt.' (M. S.)."

15 *Ibid.,* 455. Reference is made to the *Bader-Ordnung* of 1635 in the *Chronicle.*

16 *Ibid.,* 485. In a footnote, Beck prints a large portion of the *Bader-Ordnung* of 1654. (See Appendix.)

16a "Bader" means both the caretaker of a bathhouse and barber-surgeon. The term in the latter sense will be explained more in detail further below.

17 Loserth, *op. cit.,* 276.

18 *Ibid.*

Bader were to give much attention to the elderly invalids and were to serve them with friendliness, so that they would not have to sigh and complain. In prescribing drugs they were to be extremely careful, "lest they have the patients' blood upon their hands," since answering to God might be difficult.[19]

The Hutterite doctors were sought after throughout the whole countryside. The nobles moved them into their territories, and it happened accordingly that one of the doctors was even called to the court of the Emperor. Against such isolated instances there was no objection from the leaders in the Hutterite communities. Nevertheless, they watched closely that their doctors did not take up positions outside their own circle of life and thereby make themselves unavailable to the people of the Bruderhofs.

It was strongly urged in the *Bader-Ordnungen* that the Bader be not overbearing or arrogant. They were to go regularly to the common dining-room for meals along with the rest of the brothers and sisters, and those who were young and healthy were not to depend entirely on driving and riding (horseback) for their transportation.[20]

Since the separate Bruderhofs lay scattered throughout the whole of southern Moravia, the doctors traveled from Bruderhof to Bruderhof in their own wagons in which they carried their drugs and medicines. Those of the doctors who were "better-situated" were to travel with no more than one wagonload of supplies and they were therewith to be content *("und damit vergnügt sein")*.[21] They were cautioned to leave behind on their travels distilled beverages, jugs, glasses, herbs, and vinegar with the exception of alcohol ("distellirten Essig spiritus vini") which had been purchased in Vienna. Also if the doctor had any usable items such as extracts, pills, electuaries *(Latwergen)* and distilled oils, these he might also take along. But all cooking utensils, vessels and everything made of copper were to be left behind.[22]

The Bader to all appearances had a rather difficult time fitting into the pattern of life of the Hutterian Brethren. Some of them rebelled against the *Bader-Ordnungen* and complied with the regulations only against their wills. Also they took too much freedom for themselves and were too self-willed and independent. When one was not pleased by something—whether because it was

19 *Ibid.*
20 *Ibid.*, 277.
21 From the *Bader-Ordnung* of 1592.
22 Loserth, *ibid.*

criticism or otherwise—he remained completely domineering. The complaint was made that "they used harsh words with the invalids," that they should realize that they were there for the sake and benefit of the brotherhood, and that they should "look out" for them so that no one could say that the doctors helped outsiders but not the brotherhood. There were above all, "many sighs and complaints" particularly in the schools. If the brothers and sisters did not come at the proper time for their baths or for their haircuts, the Bader were not to give them angry words.[23]

It is from the *Bader-Ordnung* of 1654 that we get the clearest glimpse of the disintegration of the communistic society of the Hutterites. The Bader were apparently in such demand by persons outside the communities that they began to feel independent and restricted by the ways of the community life. This, no doubt, was most acutely felt in the matter of community of goods which meant, of course, that neither the Bader nor the physician would be able to retain any of their fees for themselves personally. Also in this *Bader-Ordnung* it is mentioned that the Bader were not to accept fees from the members of the Hutterian brotherhood. This rule was undoubtedly necessary at this time and is therefore all the more surprising in the light of the fact that the brothers and sisters were not to have any personal money nor to have any monetary dealings among themselves. The *Bader-Ordnung* of 1654, which is presented in the Appendix,[24] indicates in many ways the decline of the brotherhood during the latter part of the seventeenth century. But even as early as 1610 in an *Ordnung* given out on Sunday, October 9, the complaint was made that people were "running after their own needs and desires." In this same *Ordnung* the complaint was made that the Bader were stealing and appropriating the things of the brotherhood that they could get their hands on.[25] It is implied in the various writings left by the Hutterites that the physicians were perhaps more than anyone else the least well adapted to the Hutterian society with its strict community of goods. It is also apparent that the physicians of the Hutterites were potentially the most independent of the artisans, since they were in demand by the nobles and other people outside the brotherhood and therefore were almost certainly capable of a sizable and independent income. To turn all of this

[23] *Ibid.*, 277-78.

[24] The *Bader-Ordnung* of 1654 which is presented in the Appendix is the shortened form that Beck gives in his *Geschichts-Bücher* on page 485.

[25] Loserth, *ibid.*, 288.

income over to the brotherhood probably irked more than one of them. Also there is the probability that there was resentment from within the brotherhood toward the favored position of the Hutterite doctors outside the community. During the days of persecution in Moravia it happened that in at least one case a Hutterite physician was protected by a noble and kept in his service, while at the same time the noble was driving the rest of the Hutterites from the country.

On looking at the record of the individual doctors in the Hutterite brotherhood, one is convinced that they were among the most able and skillful in Moravia at the time. The bitter opponent of the Hutterites, Christoph Andreas Fischer, however had no such view of their skills. He had only scorn for the Hutterite physicians. He wrote,

> Not only the common man, but even the lords, when they are in need of any sort of treatment, run to their physicians as though they were the ones who had gobbled up the whole art of medicine. How can the unskilled Anabaptists accomplish such things? There is more to dancing than wearing red slippers. They have already caused the death of many of my parishoners who put their lives into their hands.[26]

Fischer did not stop with the physicians of the Hutterites, he went on:

> God have mercy, it has come to this that almost all the noble ladies have to have only Anabaptist women for their midwives, wet-nurses and child-nurses, as they were the most experienced in such things. The children will get from them nothing but poison and contempt for the Christian faith. No longer do I wonder that some of the lords do not comply with but actually oppose Catholic religious requirements. On the contrary, they protect the Anabaptists and have, in short, Anabaptist stomachs, for they have sucked these things from their nurses and have grown up under their influence.[27]

Perhaps the most sound evidence for the ability of the Hutterite physicians comes from the record of the individuals as it is set down in the chronicles and elsewhere. George Zobel, the best-known of these physicians, was called to the imperial court in Prague in 1581 where his skill was tested personally by Emperor Rudolph II. Writes the chronicler:

> In this 81st year, Rudolph, chosen as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, since he long lay ill of a dangerous disease and was unable to make any improvement, although he had many famous doctors and physicians from Italy, Spain, and other lands, recently summoned our brotherhood physician, the brother Georg Zobel, to Prag in Bohemia, and asked his

[26] Fischer, *ibid.*, 72, as quoted in the translated form by J. Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren* (Goshen, 1929), 38.
[27] Fischer, *ibid.*, 101, as quoted in translated form by J. Horsch, *ibid.*

counsel, listened, and let himself be treated according to his knowledge. He also recovered and was helped, so that through the fortunate blessing of God he became well and sound, so that he sent our above-mentioned physician, Zobel, back home, . . . after he had been with him about six months. Some of the barons said that the emperor would have died if he had not received our physician.[28]

Rudolph II, educated in Spain, had become emperor on the death of his father, having been chosen king in 1575. He had been subject to attacks of depression bordering on insanity[29] and in 1606 he was declared by the Hapsburgs as incapable of ruling. Of the character of Rudolph's sickness in 1581, little is known. It would be most interesting to read what George Zobel might have written concerning his treatment of the emperor, so that the attempt could be made to determine whether the sickness was connected with the emperor's melancholia and to learn what Zobel's observations and treatment were.

On another occasion, the same George Zobel was called to Prague for the second time (as recorded in the Chronicle) for the purpose of counselling with the imperial authorities in connection with an epidemic which was raging at that time in Bohemia. The chronicler writes:

In 1599, early in the year, the Brother Georg Zobel summoned to Prag to the imperial court on account of the infection, which at that time was violently reigning in Bohemia, in the good hope and confidence that he would be able to give counsel for this sickness in the emperor's fortress.[30]

George Zobel was respected not only by the nobility and the imperial court, but especially by his fellow brothers and sisters in the Hutterite brotherhood. This is evidenced by the fact that he was elected in 1593 to the position of *Diener der Notdurft* (steward), a very responsible position in the Hutterite society.[31] Later in the Chronicle the name "Zobelhof" appears as the name of a Bruderhof in Hungary. The naming of this Bruderhof is another indication of the brotherhood's respect for G. Zobel. On the occasion of his death, the chronicler was exceptionally generous with his words of praise for this "eminent old physician." Reads the Chronicle:

In this year of 1603, on June 27, about 1:00 o'clock in the afternoon, the brother Georg Zobel, a deacon and excellent old physician, to whom the entire barber-surgeon craft was entrusted (and who was also

[28] A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Philadelphia, 1947), 110; Wolkan, *ibid.*, 407.

[29] Anton Gindely, *Rudolf II und Seine Zeit, 1600-1612* (Prague, 1868), I, 44.

[30] Beck, *op. cit.*, 329.

[31] Wolkan, *op. cit.*, 438-39.

used by many great lords and by the emperor himself), fell asleep with a peaceful heart at Nikolsburg.[32]

We know nothing about Zobel's education, or anything of his early life. He has left no writings of any kind. It is quite apparent that he was highly respected as a doctor and as a leader of the brotherhood.

Another doctor who acquired no small degree of eminence was Balthasar Goller. In 1606, after thirteen years of raging battles between Austria and Turkey on the eastern frontier region of Austria, a peace treaty was finally ratified, which was of the greatest historical importance, causing a sensation over the whole of Europe. The terms of the treaty stipulated that Turkey would keep peace in the West, if Emperor Rudolph II would present a gift of 200,000 ducats to the Sultan. It was fifteen months after the signing of the peace treaty that the great imperial embassy with gold and presents of honor for the Sultan traveled to Constantinople. It is through the letters of a Hutterite brother, Salomon Böger, who was traveling on a mission of relief trying to find his wife and child and other Hutterian women who had been taken captive by the Turkish armies during the previous war, that we know of the fact that the Hutterite doctor Balthasar Goller was in this imperial party in the role of physician to the ambassador, Adam von Herberstein. Salomon Böger and Balthasar Goller had known each other well, and a chance meeting, out of which comes our knowledge of the fact that Goller was a physician to the ambassador, occurred in the suite of the ambassador in the frontier fort of Comorn.[33]

It is quite probable that Balthasar Goller was held in greater esteem outside the Hutterite brotherhood than within. He was the personal physcian of Cardinal Franz Dietrichstein at the latter's large estate of Nikolsburg in Moravia.[34] Although Dietrichstein was the head of the Counter Reformation in Moravia and was persecuting the Hutterites, Goller was his personal physician as late as 1618.[35] The fact that Goller became attached to the imperial legation to Turkey, and as he was the personal physician to Cardinal Dietrichstein absented himself from the Bruderhofs, under the Cardinal's protection, while the other Hutterites were perse-

[32] Beck, *op. cit.*, 336.

[33] Robert Friedmann, "Adventures of an Anabaptist in Turkey, 1607-1610," *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, XVII (1943), 73-86.

[34] Fr. Hruby, "Die Wiedertäufer in Mähren," *Archiv f. Reformationsgeschichte*, XXXII (Leipzig, 1935), 16.

[35] *Ibid.*, XXX (1933), 34; Friedmann, ". . . An Anabaptist in Turkey," 81.

cuted and driven out of Moravia, and the fact that little, if any, mention is made of any of Goller's activities in the chronicles of the Hutterites, justifies the conclusion that Goller was probably not so highly esteemed in the Hutterite brotherhood. In spite of the fact that Goller is described in one case as chief physician *(Haupt-Arzt)* of the brotherhood,[36] it was probably the actions of such doctors as Goller and the situations in which they found themselves that brought about statements from the Hutterite elders such as those found in the *Bader-Ordnung* of 1654.[37]

Of all the physicians and barber-surgeons that the Hutterites of Moravia must have had, relatively few are mentioned in the chronicles. Burckhart Braitenstainer, a Bader, is mentioned in the Chronicle as having been appointed along with three other brothers as missionaries *(Dienst des Euangelions)* in 1608. Sebastian Dietrich, a surgeon, was a highly-respected elder of the church, one of the last five artisan-elders of the Hutterites during the Moravian period.[39] Dietrich was respected by the brotherhood not for his abilities as a surgeon so much as for his other qualities. On the occasion of his death, the chronicler wrote:

> In this year of 1619, on Sunday, December 8, in the forenoon between 8 and 9 o'clock, the dear and faithful brother Sebastian Dietrich, a faithful *Vorsteher* of the entire brotherhood, fell asleep in the Lord with a peaceful heart and a good conscience at Dämberschitz, at the age of 66 years. In the ministry of the Word he stood in the 32nd year; the entire brotherhood was entrusted to him nine years.[40]

There was another doctor, Daniel Zwicker, a physician from Danzig, who in 1654 joined the Hutterite community in Slovakia, described the chronicler as *"ein Doctor der Schrifft und Arzney."* This man was a Socinian, i.e., a Unitarian. Even though Zwicker, an intellectual, could not subscribe to certain of the tenets of the Trinitarian Hutterian Brethren, he nevertheless was taken into the brotherhood and was made a minister of the Word *(Diener des Worts)* and later a missionary of the Hutterites to Prussia and Poland. The Chronicle discusses at considerable length Zwicker's attitudes on the subjects of baptism, communion, the brotherhood government, and marriage.[41] But Zwicker soon left the Hutterites to return to Danzig, where he reverted to his

[36] Hruby, *op. cit.*, XXXII, 16; *ibid.*, XXX, 34.

[37] See appendix.

[38] Beck, *op. cit.*, 355; Wolkan, *op. cit.*, 494, 498.

[39] Paul Dedic, "Social Background of the Austrian Anabaptists," *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, XIII (1939), 19.

[40] Zieglschmid, *op. cit.*, 132-33.

[41] Beck, *op. cit.*, 488-92.

original Unitarianism.[42] No mention is made by the chronicler of Zwicker in his role as physician.

At the beginning of the Renaissance throughout Europe there had been a recognized distinction between the physician (German: *Arzt*) and the surgeon (German: *Chirurg*) on one hand, and the surgeon and the barber-surgeon (German: *Bader*) on the other. The physician was the learned man who was familiar with the works of early writers such as Avicenna and Galen. He was the theorist who hesitated to dirty his hands with such things as dissections and experimental medicine. The surgeon was below the physician in the medical hierarchy; and at dissections, for instance, it was the surgeon who demonstrated the various organs of the body by pointing to them with a stick. The barber-surgeon was the low man in the early Renaissance medical hierarchy. It was he who "dirtied his hands" by doing the actually dissecting. The barber-surgeon received his name from the fact that he practiced, along with cutting of hair, the operations of blood-letting (phlebotomy) and cupping, which were considered below the dignity of a physician.

The chronicles of the Hutterites use three expressions in referring to men of the medical profession. One expression is *Arzt,* the second is *Doctor der Arznei,* and third is *Bader.* It was to Georg Zobel, who treated Emperor Rudolph and to Balthazar Goller, who was attached to the Imperial legation as physician to the ambassador that the term *Arzt* was assigned. It was Daniel Zwicker, the Unitarian intellectual from Danzig, for whom the expression *Doctor der Arznei,* which is to say "Doctor of Medicine," was used by the chronicler. The term *Bader* was used for men like Salomon Dietrich and Burkhold Braitensteiner. In correlating the terms used by the chronicler when writing about the medical men of the Hutterites with the actual facts concerning the men themselves, the conclusion seems inevitable that in the society of the Hutterites no clear distinctions were drawn between the function of the *Arzt* and the *Bader.* The role of the *Chirurg* seems not to have been assigned to any particular group of persons. Consequently it is doubtless correct to conclude that in the Hutterite society there were only physicians *(Arzt)* and barber-surgeons *(Bader)* in the medical profession.[43] The Bader had derived their name from the fact that they were in charge of the *Badelhäuser*

[42] Robert Friedmann, "The Encounter of Anabaptists and Mennonites with Antitrinitarianism," *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XXII (1948), 161-62.

[43] cf. Arturo Castiglioni, *A History of Medicine,* Trans. and Ed., E. B. Krumbhaar (New York, 1947), 492.

or bathing houses, in which they also cut hair, practiced blood-letting, and cupping. They had assumed the earlier distinct role of the surgeon, as also had the physicians, to all indications.

Concerning the education of the physicians and barber-surgeons in the Hutterite society, practically nothing is known. The constantly-swelling, missionary-minded ranks of the Hutterites were receiving followers from all walks of life and from diverse parts of the land throughout the sixteenth century in Europe. It is therefore not beyond reason to think that doctors such as Georg Zobel and Balthazar Goller may have received formal medical education before becoming members of the Hutterite society, joining the latter after establishing themselves as physicians. It is unlikely that Emperor Rudolph II would have been treated by Zobel, had he been a mere Bader and not a physician with formal education. Likewise it would seem improbable that the imperial ambassador would have been assigned anyone but an *Arzt* with formal medical education.

The Bader however, may well have been able to learn this trade within the society of the Hutterites. The nature of the *Bader-Ordnungen* indicates that much study of the medical books was required of the Bader. Even though the Hutterites did require diligence in study on the part of their medical men, it is quite improbable that a man of the rank of *Arzt* could have grown out of the society itself, having had no outside training.

Concerning the content of the formal education of the physicians of the Hutterites nothing is definitely known. Europe in the sixteenth century was the battlefield for the exponents of various medical theories for and against the practice of blood-letting and for and against the teaching of the works of the old master physicians, viz., Galen, Avicenna, and others.[44] Although the Hutterite physicians surely had come under the influence of thinking such as that of Paracelsus, the propounder of experimental medicine, it is most likely that they were also acquainted with the work of Galen and Avicenna.[45] Books of medicine which the Hutterite doctors may have used were the medical and anatomical texts of the early 16th century such as the *Antropologium* (1501) of Magnus Hundt, professor at the University of Leipzig. Such books contained generally the conventional illustrations for blood-letting, the ligation of arteries after wounds of various kinds, the relation of the signs of the zodiac and the planets to the various

[44] *Ibid.*, 443-44.
[45] *Ibid.*, 444-50.

organs of the body, and the illustrations of the pregnant women with the *foetus in utero*.[46] The works of Galen and Avicenna may also have been used.[47] Books of a slightly later period, no doubt used by the physicians and barber-surgeons, were the various herb books such as the popular *Kreuterbuch* (Frankfurt, 1555) of Adam Lonicerus.[48]

The great epidemic of syphilis during the sixteenth century can be regarded as one of the factors which helped to convince doctors of the necessity for firsthand experience and treatment according to observation. It has been said that by 1520 any intelligent physician was in possession of current knowledge about syphilis, the danger of contagion, the various manifestations, and the treatment (guaiac or mercury) to be recommended.[49] That the doctors of the Hutterites had ample opportunity to deal wih syphilis is evidenced by the statements in the *Schul-Ordnung* referring to the *Franzosen* or French disease among the school children.

Whatever the training of the Hutterite doctors and physicians, it is certain that they were among the best doctors in Moravia during the sixteenth century. If a doctor subscribed to the tenets of the Hutterite faith he was certainly a generally ethical and conscientious doctor. The Hutterite doctors as we have seen were responsible for a large portion of the good will—small in quantity as that good will was—that existed in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries towards the Hutterites.

APPENDIX

Dr. Josef Beck in his *Die Geschichts-bücher der Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Wien, 1883, pp. 485-87) quotes the Hutterian Chronicle from the year 1654: "Anno 1654, den 19. Februar, die Bader Ordnung verlesen zu Sabatisch vnd mit den Badern geredt."

In this connection Dr. Beck includes a portion of the 1654 "Bader-Ordnung" as a lengthy footnote, here given in its entirety: except for certain minor.

Was hier den Badern ernstlich zu Gemüthe geführt und vorgelesen wurde, zeigt vom tiefen Verfalle dieser Zunft und dem Eifer des Ehrenpreis, den guten Namen derselben wieder herzustellen. Denn es wird ihnen vorgehalten, sie sollen

[46] *Ibid.*, 378.
[47] *Ibid.*, 490.
[48] *Ibid.*, 486-87.
[49] *Ibid.*, 464.

1. iren Beruff, irer seelen hail, vnd der Gemain Nutz vnd wolstand fleissiger warnemen,

2. iren Berueff vnd glauben zieren, vnd in der gemain vnd ausserhalf bei allen stenden ire Redlichkeit, trew, fleiss vnd Nüchterkait sehen lassen,

3. mit fleissigem gebeet sich zu Gott halten, das er Inen gnad vnd segen geben wölle vnd irer artzney,

4. fleissig lesen, vnd sich üben in h. Schrifft, vnd in Artzney Büechern,

5. Morgens, wen man weckt, fleissig aufstehen, Abends zu rechter Zeit schlaffen gehn, vnd alle vnordnung meiden,

6. Es soll keiner von der "werkstatt" zu gehen macht haben, one vorwissen,

7. Ein Jeder, wo er hingeschichkt wird, vnd was Im der fürgestelte beuilht, ordentlich aussrichten,

8. Im kreüter samlen vnd wurtzen graben nit vnendt vnd fürwitz treiben, zu wein gehn, vnd keine kreüter oder würtzen haim bringen!

9. Im hauss vnd hantwerkstüben nit vmbherziehen, schwätzen, anheng vnd gesellschafften machen, vnd ergernus geben, bey den weltleüten nit sitzen, zuetrinken, zaigen oder gesegnen, wie etliche ein weiss haben. Es ist nit recht solche gleisnerey zu treiben!

10. Sollen sich der Freündlichkeit gegen Jederman fleissen, Niemant stoltzen vnd trutzigen beschaid geben. Es stehet vns treffentlich übel an.

11. NB. NB. Auch nit weltlich klaiden, das man bissweilen ainen nit gekennt, Ain gegrüest, oder ghaissen wilkom sein. (NB. Schändliche hauben vnd har!) Da man in die gmain komen, hat man sich der weltlichen kleider geschämt, Jeczt schamen sich ein tail der gemain klaidung, muess vast alles anderst sein, huet, die Schnuer, der Rock, der gürtl aintweder ein gewaltig Schloss oder nur ein bandt, den knopff hinden auffen Rucken. Obs nit *gar* weltlich, muess es doch *halb* vnd halb sein.

12. Auch die geberd in worten: weltlich vnd prächtig, das Har über such, wie die Bursten, mit füessen scharren vnd andere laperey, da man sein nur zu spotten hat, So doch die herren hofleüt genueg haben. (Das die Bader den Brüedern das haar Abschnaiden, wie es recht ist, vnd nit, wie es Ein yedlicher begert, bis half auf die Aechseln vnd fornen Ein schaidl, nach krüegsmanischem Brauch sich der welt gleich stellen, wie sich yetzt Etliche vngeschickt stellen vnd erzeigen.)

13. Das die Jungen die hoffart nit am ersten lernen, im Pracht vnd andern dingen, darnach aber ein Bauern kaum recht putzen oder zwagen können!

14. Den Zeug sollen sy fein sauber vnd scharff halten, das den Bauern nit die Augen übergehen im Scheren, Aderlassen vnd Schrepffen.

15. Im Bad sich auch fein freundlich vnd fleissig vmb die leut annemen, Inen fleissig aufwarten, (sy) Nit lang sitzen, auf ein ander warten lassen, sich nit ausser des Bads oder in der Scherstueben aufhalten vnd schwätzen, das die leüt mit vnwillen auss dem bad gehen müessen, wie ycziger Zeit geschicht.

16. Auch sich nit von der Arbait abziehen, als wen sy zu köstlich oder zu guet darzue wären, oder nit zur Arbait geschaffen.

17. Sollen auch nit aigene Artzneyen haben, Iren gewinn vnd aigenutz damit zu schaffen.

18. Aigene Hennen, Tauben v. d. g. sollen keinem gestattet sein.

19. Alles gelt, es sey geschenkt oder trinckgelt, sambt allem verdienst, soll mit trewer handt dem füergestelten zue gestelt werden.

20. Alles kauffen, Teüscheln vnd krämerey soll abgeschafft vnd keinem gestattet sein, wie es allweg in der gemain gewesen ist.

21. Auch soll man von vnsern leüten, die irer Dienst bedörffen, weder gelt noch gaben nemen. Dan es ist nit recht.

22. Mit vnsern alten kranken vnd Presshafften gueten Fleiss haben, das sie nit klagen vnd seüfftzen müessen.

23. Die füergestelten nit beim Volk verunglimpffen oder hinder reden, als wen ainem offt zu helffen wär, wenn der fürgestelte nur die artzney hergäbe.

24. Insbesondere soll man mit artzney eingeben gueten fleiss vnd sorg haben, das man nit bluet auf sich lade!

25. Es soll im auch keiner selbs sein Bestallung machen, vnd keiner bey den Herrschafften sich anhengen.

26. Es soll auch keiner vmb schlechter vrsach willen sich von des herrn wort abziehen.

27. Sollen auch fleissig in die grosse stuben zum essen gehn, wie andere fromen, wie auch zu Nickelspurg den Alchimisten ist geordnet worden, vnd erkennt gewesen dem Stophel Eckstain vnd Nathaniel Hamer. Sie sollen sich auch nit gar so an das Reitten vnd Faren gewönen, was noch Jung vnd gesundt ist.

28. Sollen auch nit seer vmb Mandln vnd Mandegk trachten, Inen vnd iren weibern alles zu wegen bringen.

29. Die Elteren Bader sollen die Jungen fleissig vnderweisen, in der zucht vnd Forcht halten, die Bueben nit schlagen, Rauffen, Noch sonst mit groben schmachworten schelten, auch not vil mit Inen fürwitzen noch schertzen. Des gleichen soll es mit den Newkomenden gehalten werden.

30. Wen man einem, der doch ein Brueder ist, sein vnweiss begert abzuziehen vnd Ims nit will gelten lassen, soll er nit als balt wandern wöllen, sondern güeten bericht annemen.

31. Nit auss ruem vil vberflissigen zeug samlen, daz man die wanderfueren kaum füeren kan. Die Bader haben ir Ordnung von alters her! Ist nur ein gespet vnd verachtung irer Erlichen vorfaren vnd altväter, wilche die ordnung gemacht, vnd erkennt, daz man mit Wandern nit so vil mit von einen ort in's andere füeren soll, das man mit Einer fuer wandern kan. Wo bleibt es, wo kumbt es hin? Ist aus der weiss! Wen ein Einkaufer, hausshalter, Mair, Millner also wandern solte, wie vil fueren müesten sy haben? Vnd was sy noch nit mit füeren vnd schlepffen können, verkauffen sy einander, auch wol das vich! Ey, Ey, wo bleibt da der elende Ruem der Gemainschafft?

32. Wen sie nun dünkt, das sy wol sitzen, wollen sy nit wandern, henken sich an die herrschafft, erhalten damit gewalt, den eignen willen, irme berueff vnd ergebung gantz zuewider! Nit wenig ist das die vrsach, daz die Jugendt so verdurbt, frech vnd vngehorsam vnd maisterloss wirt!

HUTTERITE PHYSICIANS and BARBER-SURGEONS

(Additional Notes)

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

While the paper by John Sommer, published above, covers very comprehensively the subject of Hutterite medicine, the report concerning physicians and barber-surgeons *(Bader)* of that brotherhood still allows further supplementation. It is the intention of the following notes to discuss chronologically all brethren in this field whose names appear in the sources available. Though their number is not too impressive, it is yet astonishing to meet so frequently the mentioning of this noble profession in the Hutterite chronicles and other Anabaptist sources. In this regard the Hutterites present an almost unique feature among Anabaptist brotherhoods.

(1) George Zobel has been ably treated in the preceding paper and only a few remarks need to be added to it. Zobel, a rather renowned physician of the Brethren, lived and died in Nikolsburg, Moravia, where a large Bruderhof existed. Nikolsburg, it should be remembered, was the seat of the noble house of Dietrichstein since 1575, and it was perhaps for that reason that we learn of two remarkable physicians living and working at this place. The brethren, though oppressed, managed nevertheless to subsist in that area until Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein began his "counter-reformatory" activities around 1599. The Hutterite Chronicle or *Geschicht-buch* mentions Zobel for the first time in the year 1582 when he was called to Emperor Rudolph II, who then lived in Prague, for medical consultation. In 1593 this physician-brother was made officially *Diener der Notdurft* (steward).[1] The same Chronicle then reports in 1597[2] that "a prince had asked for Zobel to come to Prague," but other records say that Zobel was called the second time in 1599.[3] We also learn that the abbot of near-by Klosterbruck monastery in southern Moravia, otherwise an untiring foe of the Brethren, addressed Zobel as "dear friend" when he invited him to the abbey for medical consultation.[4] This

[1] A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder* (Philadelphia, 1943), 567.

[2] *Ibid.*, 594.

[3] P. Dedic, "Nikolsburg," *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt and Weierhof, 1913 ff.), III, 259.

[4] *Ibid.*

should not surprise us, however, for we have the admission of another Hutterite-fighter, the ill-famed Moravian priest Christoph Andreas Fischer, that the bath-houses of the brethren were always filled with "Christians" (meaning Catholics) and that the manorial lords came to the Brethren whenever they needed any remedy, "as if the Anabaptists were the only masters of that art."[5]

In 1603, Zobel died in Nikolsburg. He was "a fine old doctor," the *Chronicle* remarks on this occasion, "who had taken care of the entire barber business of the brotherhood and who had also been much in demand with many noble lords."[6]

(2) Balthasar Goller, the second physician named in the Chronicle, was a contemporary of Zobel, and like him lived and died in Nikolsburg. About him we read more in another Hutterite manuscript where he is mentioned as the personal physician of Count Herberstein, the imperial ambassador, on the latter's mission to the Sublime Porte (Constantinople) in 1607-8.[7] This fact seems to indicate a certain reputation of this brother in the medical field; apparently he was a physician rather than a barber, otherwise he would not have been selected for so responsible a function. We do not know how Goller got this particular job but the conjecture might be ventured that he had been an assistant of Zobel who later recommended him as his successor to the imperial court. We should remember, however, that Zobel died in 1603 while the embassy did not start until 1607.

After his return from this mission, Goller continued his medical practice in Nikolsburg. A hitherto overlooked document tells us the surprising fact that he had become the personal physician of Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein, the otherwise implacable adversary of the Hutterites. In his richly documented book, *Die Wiedertäufer in Mähren* (Leipzig, 1935), Franz Hruby quotes a letter written by the Cardinal to a nobleman friend in Moravia, dated February 23, 1618, in which he announces the dispatch of "Balthaussern Kholert, chief physician of the Brethren *(brüderischer Hauptarzt)*" to his friend, and then adds, somewhat apologetically, "even though I needed him myself because of my present physical frailty."[8]

One year later, this capable doctor was to meet a tragic fate in the Thirty Years' War as it swept across southern Moravia.

[5] "Dietrich," *Menn. Lex.*, I, 442.
[6] *Chronicle* ed. Zieglschmid, 611.
[7] *Menn. Quart. Review*, XVII (1943), 80ff.
[8] F. Hruby, *Die Wiedertäufer in Mähren* (Leipzig, 1935), 34.

We have two different reports about the violent death of Goller in Nikolsburg. The Chronicle[9] says that he was brutally slain by a "godless citizen" of that city (*in tyrannischer Weise mit Schiessen, Stechen und Hauen entsetzlich ermördert worden*) on September 5, 1619. On the other hand, the commander and defender of the castle of Nikolsburg, Johann von Denné, reports to the Cardinal in a letter of September 13, 1619, that his famous physician was murdered without any reason by a lord billeted in the castle.[10] And Hruby adds from the sources that the pharmacy *(Apotheke)* of the brethren was also confiscated on the same occasion.[11] It was the time when the Hutterite brethren were completely expelled from their ancient location in Nikolsburg.

(3) Sebastian Dietrich (1553-1619), born in Markgröningen in Württemberg, joined the Hutterite brotherhood in Moravia in 1580. He became a preacher (*Diener des Wortes*) seven years later and was chosen *Vorsteher* or head bishop of the entire brotherhood in the difficult year of 1611. He died at sixty-six in Neumühl, Moravia, in 1619.[12] The Württemberg records of the year 1600, dealing with Dietrich's claim of his parental inheritance, call him "an excellent and far-famed physician,"[13] a title, to be sure, not quite correct, since Dietrich was rather a barber-surgeon than a physician proper. But as such he enjoyed an extraordinary reputation indeed. From the records it is not quite clear where he got the knowledge of his profession. Bossert assumed that he learned his skills as a youth in Württemberg, but certain facts suggest also expert contacts with Zobel in Nikolsburg, and perhaps also with Goller. When Dietrich entered into a lawsuit with the authorities for his inheritance, he sent the physician Hans Jakob Knaub of Nikolsburg as his authorized representative and trustee to Markgröningen, "since he could not go there personally."[14] The suit was in vain anyway: after many years of correspondence the authorities finally refused to give him his rightful inheritance because of his joining the Anabaptists in Moravia.

Unfortunately, no more details about Dietrich's professional activities are known; the Chronicle simply acknowledges them in a general fashion as another proof of the brother's high standing.

[9] Zieglschmid, *op. cit.*, 715.

[10] Dedic, "Nikolsburg," *loc. cit.*, written on the basis of new documents.

[11] Hruby, *op. cit.*, 80.

[12] *Menn. Lex.*, I, 442 and G. Bossert, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer, Herzogtum Württemberg* (Leipzig, 1930), 754-847.

[13] Bossert, *op. cit.*, 755.

[14] *Ibid.*, 754.

(4) Of the next physician of the brotherhood and his activities we learn from two sources: The Chronicle, which calls him Hanns Zwinckheberger,[15] and the great hymnal of the brethren, the *Liederbuch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Scottdale, 1914), which calls the same man Hans Zwickelberger, a more likely family name.[16] In 1605 when the Turks, together with Hungarians and Transylvanians, invaded the borderland of Austria and Moravia, the Hutterite Bruderhofs suffered particularly severely at the hands of the Transylvanian army leader Stephen Bosckay and his "Heiduks" (undisciplined militia). The tribulations of this memorable year 1605 are described in great detail in the Chronicle, which tells the story pertaining to our subject about as follows: It so happened that at that time our brother Hanns Zwinckheberger, a barber [-surgeon], was present in the city of Tyrnau [now Trnava, Slovakia]. When he learned from one of the [captured] sisters where our people had been dragged away to, he turned to the magistrates of that city with the request to help him liberate his brethren and sisters. Thereupon the aldermen went with the barber into the camp of the colonel . . . and solicited the freeing of these people without ransom. This the colonel was willing to do [for reasons not mentioned], and our people were returned and came safely back [to "unoccupied Slovakia"].[17]

The same story is told in a more elaborate fashion in a long hymn of 158 stanzas, called the *Botschkai Lied*. Here stanza 104 and 105 run as follow:

Denn es war gleich in dem Trübsale
Hans Zwickelberger auch diesmale
In Ungarland zu dienen in diesem Falle

Der denselbigen Stadtherren
Dienstlich und tät viel ankehren
Mit Arznei und tät ihnen sehr geren.[18]

Freely translated the passage says about this: "In these days of calamity Hans Zwickelberger was again on hand in Hungary to offer his good service. He was of much help to the magistrates

[15] Zieglschmid, *op. cit.*, 630.

[16] *Liederbuch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Scottdale, Pa., 1914), 809.

[17] This story parallels the epic of the Brother Salomon Böger and his adventures in Turkey in his search for his wife, child, and other captives. Cf. R. Friedmann, "Adventures of an Anabaptist in Turkey," *Menn. Quart. Rev.* XVII (1943), 80ff.

[18] *Liederbuch*, 809.

[of the city of Tyrnau] and gladly helped them with his medical service." From this we may gather that the brother had already been in the city when the hostilities broke out, doing some barber-surgeon work among the patricians of that city. Apparently he did so well that he gained their gratitude and their willingness to return service for service. His reasons for going to this place are not indicated; we may, however, surmise that he was called there for medical work, not unlike to that of Zobel or Goller. It is well to remember that good doctors and good barbers were still exceedingly rare in the seventeenth century.

(5) Burkhart Braitstainer was also a barber who was elected as minister of the Word in Neumühl, Moravia, in 1608.[19] Later he became an elder of the Nikolsburg group and as such had to share all the sufferings of the years 1621-22 when Cardinal Franz Dietrichstein extorted practically all the savings of the brotherhood and then expelled them from the country. Of his activities as a surgeon nothing particular is recorded in the Chronicle.

(6) Another name in the present context, also of the early seventeenth century, is that of the brother Conrad Blössy, according to all indications a physician proper. About him we read in the Chronicle for the year 1612 the following story:[20] "At this time one of our physicians [Goller was then still alive] had been in Zürich for more than one year, as there was an epidemic rampant and more than eight thousand persons had died. The brother served many persons, also such in high places, very well with his drugs, thanks to divine blessing, and he received good pay for it. In recognition of such loyalty the magistrates and lords of Zürich allowed him to take with him to the brotherhood in Moravia a greater part of his inheritance than usually granted. He was thus able to collect a very nice sum of money which, however, was robbed from him and from the entire brotherhood because of the betrayal of the apostate Klaus Bräuer." From this report we may conclude that Blössy was a citizen of Zürich who had joined the brotherhood in Moravia and had now returned to negotiate his parental estate, somewhat as Sebastian Dietrich had tried to do. Thanks to his services on the spot he fared far better in this deal than his Swabian brother.

(7) Of the brother next to be mentioned nearly nothing has

[19] Zieglschmid, *op. cit.*, 646.
[20] *Ibid.*, 659.

been known until recently. The Chronicle[21] reports only that in 1647 Johannes Spengler, a barber, was made *Diener der Notdurft* (steward) and that he died in Slovakia in 1660. It is of some significance to remember that this was the period of the outstanding Hutterite *Vorsteher* Andreas Ehrenpreis, under whom the Slovakian Bruderhofs experienced their last great flowering. Fortunately the late Professor A. J. F. Zieglschmid discovered at one of the Hutterite Bruderhofs in South Dakota a bulky handwritten codex, dated 1635, which was written by Spengler, containing the most extensive Anabaptist medical tract ever known. Mr. Sommer had no knowledge of the existence of this unusual codex and therefore could say but little about the medication and medical treatment of the Hutterite physicians. An expert analysis of this volume will be the future task of some historian of medicine, we are sure. At this place not much more can be presented than an external description of this strange volume, taken from notes left among the papers of Professor Zieglschmid.

The codex ($3\frac{3}{4}$ in. x 6 in. in size) must be quite voluminous as Zieglschmid remarks: 3 inches thick. Its title runs as follows:

> *Arznei Handbüchl,* Vieler Krankheiten Zustände, Causam et Curam, auch einfache nützliche Rezepte, Simplizien Gradibus der einfachen Gewächsen (aus den vier Elementen geboren), Leib-und Wundarzneiisch, samt anderen schönen Sachen, einem jeden Arzte not zu wissen, hierin beschrieben und aufs kürzest begriffen.
>
> Samt einem ordentlichen Register, wie und wo ein jedes auf das ehest zu finden.
>
> Der Herr hat die Arznei geschaffen, und
> die Arznei kommt von dem Höchsten.
>
> Geschrieben in Niederungarn, im Trentschiner Warmbad, vollendet den 15. Februar 1635. Johannes Spengler gehörig.

This title indicates that Spengler had a sort of medical and barber practice in the (still today) renowned mineral bath and warm spring of Trencin-Teplice (now Slovakia). How this fit into Hutterite community living is not indicated, but we may assume that Spengler's stay in the resort was but temporary perhaps for the purpose of serving (like Zwickelberger), and perhaps also to provide some needed cash for the brotherhood. As we

21 *Ibid.*, 845.

know, such temporary outside services were by no means infrequent among the Hutterites.

From the few pages copied by Zieglschmid it is quite evident that the author (or compiler) proceeded in a scholarly fashion in his systematic work. The major source from which he seems to have taken most of his medical and pharmaceutical knowledge is the famous sixteenth century physician Paracelsus. The work of this great doctor was widely known at that time and Spengler seems to have studied it extensively. On one of the very first pages of the codex we find for instance the following reference: "Look for it in *Tractatus Primus De Pestilitate, Opus Astronomia Mundis,* Paracelsus." The occasional use of Latin words indicates that Spengler must have had some better education in a so-called Latin school prior to his joining the Hutterites. Unfortunately, nothing more can be reported at this moment, and further investigations are certainly called for.

(8) and (9) Strangely enough, of the two men next on our roster we learn nothing from Hutterite sources proper; what we know about them comes only from a very flattering letter which the well-known Moravian Protestant nobleman Karl von Zierotin sent to a friend. On November 3, 1635, this nobleman writes as follows: "I am sure that you have heard that I was rather sick last year until the Anabaptist barbers of your area [i.e. Levar or Gross Schützen, Slovakia] cured me of the serious and dangerous illness which God sent upon me and from which he delivered me again, thanks to these men. Since I know that you, too, are seriously ill, it is my opinion that you would do wise to avail yourself of these barbers. For there are excellent masters among them, in particular the master Hans Webel and his assistant Matthes Gauman who were also with me last year and served me so well."[22] The remarkable fact about this information is that the Hutterites had been expelled from Moravia since 1622, and that they nevertheless returned time and again to serve the nobility in many fields. Hruby, who prints this letter, adds the remark that "we could quote many more examples of this kind." The earlier quoted letter of Dietrichstein corroborates this contention.

(10) The skill and fame of Anabaptist barbers did not die out in spite of unheard-of oppressions and exile. From Moravia these specialists moved with the entire brotherhood to Slovakia

[22] F. Hruby, *Die Wiedertäufer in Mähren* (Leipzig, 1935), 105, after a copy of the letter in the State Archive of Brno, Moravia.

and further eastward, continuing their medical services both inside and outside their Bruderhofs.

The Great Chronicle of the Hutterites ends about the year 1665. A decline *(Verfliessen)* in the brotherhood set in and the sources become more and more scanty. Joseph von Beck, who ransacked all possible archives and even remotest sources for his *Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Österreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, 1883), mentions once more a physician of the year 1782. "Andreas Schmidt, brüderischer Wundarzt in Levar, Slovakia." It does not become quite clear whether at that time all Hutterites of this area had been converted by force to the Catholic faith (the so-called "Habaner") or not. In any case, the record reveals that a number of Anabaptist manuscripts and "heretical" books were confiscated in the house of the physician, thus indicating his Anabaptist background and learning.[23]

(11) and (12) To learn more of the Hutterite physicians in this late period of their history, we must turn to the continuation of the Great Chronicle, namely the so-called *Klein-Geschichtsbuch* or Small Chronicle (edited by A. J. F. Zieglschmid, Phila., 1947). Here we read:[24] "Anno 1792, Joseph Müller took Lorenz Stahl as his assistant [or apprentice] that he should learn with him bleeding and all the other medical treatments." That was at a time when the brethren had begun to settle at Vishenka, Ukraine. When by chance both these men died in rapid succession, the Small Chronicle remarks regretfully, "Thus the brotherhood had no one anymore who would understand bleeding and the other medical practices. This became a real concern to the brethren."[25]

New men, however, were found who could serve the brotherhood in this capacity, for once more we find a note in the Small Chronicle in this regard, the last note, to be sure, concerning our subject. On page 423 we read: "Anno 1814, May 16, the brother Zacharias Wipf passed away; he had served the brotherhood loyally for sixteen years, both in the pharmacy and in the art of medicine *(Arznei Kunst)*. He was aged thirty-six."[26]

[23] Joseph v. Beck, *Die Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Österreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, 1883), 635.

[24] A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Phila., 1947), 388.

[25] *Ibid.*, 388.

[26] It happened at the Bruderhof of Raditchev, Russia.

APPENDIX

Paracelsus and the Anabaptists

It is highly probable that Paracelsus, the famous sixteenth-century physician and philosopher, had personal contacts with the Anabaptists, in particular with the Hutterites. Dr. Kurt Goldammer in his recent book, *Paracelsus, sozialethische und sozialpolitische Schriften, herausgegeben von K. Goldammer* (Tübingen, 1952, 81 ff.), presents the main reasons for such a contention. First, a certain inner kinship is observable between the socio-ethical ideas of Paracelsus and the Brethren; proof is contained in the main bulk of this volume of source publication. Secondly, a number of external contacts can also be established as most probable: in Strasbourg in 1526, in eastern Switzerland and the Inn Valley of Tirol during Paracelsus' years of wandering, 1532-34, and finally during his prolonged visit to Moravia in 1537.

Concerning this visit we learn that he had been invited to the estate of the manorial lord Johann von Leipnick (or in German: Lipa) at Moravian Kromau. It was there that Paracelsus wrote several of his great tracts, and most likely also that he met the Hutterites. About this Johann von Leipnick-Lipa, see the *Chronicle* (ed. Zieglschmid), pp. 146, 209, and 250: also the enlightening footnote on p. 250. From these passages we learn that this lord was much interested in all "left-wing" (sectarian) movements, protecting the Hutterites against the severe persecutions of 1535-40. The estate of Kromau saw Hussites first, then Picards, and finally Hutterites. Johann von Lipa knew Jakob Hutter personally but was unable to prevent the expulsion of the Brethren in 1535 (when Hutter wrote his famous letter to the governor in Moravia). But in 1540 he permitted the re-establishment of a Bruderhof in Kromau, and in 1545 its enlargement. Also Schäkovitz near by, a well-known Hutterite center, belonged to the same lord.

The invitation to Paracelsus, the homeless and restless wanderer, to come to Kromau and work here in peace, becomes thus more understandable, and the contact with Hutterites appears almost as a matter of fact. A more detailed study in this field, however, might be profitable.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MENNONITE PREACHING

Roy H. Umble

Preaching is a familiar and central part of Mennonite worship and the ordained man who presents the sermon is a well-known member of the brotherhood. Viewing the minister speaking to a congregation, the student of public address observes, reports and analyzes. He attempts to recreate the speaking situation, "the climate of opinion," and the speaker-audience interaction in order to place the reader in the midst of the scene as an onlooker or even as a participator.

Although historically the sermon has been and is a significant part of Mennonite religious experience and expression, no previous doctoral study deals exclusively with preaching among the Mennonites. And this in spite of its place in the public worship service.

The selection of the men for this study was based on twenty-eight replies to a questionnaire sent to thirty men who are recognized leaders in the field of Mennonite life and history. The tabulation of the results listed approximately 200 names; however, rankings clearly placed the men included in this study at the top of the list.

The statements that follow are selected conclusions based on a study of Mennonite preaching, 1864-1944, as shown by the life and preaching of eleven representative ministers of the period with one or more sermons from each and critical and explanatory notes. For each of the eleven men a biographical section summarizes (1) his background and education; (2) the major periods of his life and the causes, movements and men with whom he lived and worked; (3) an estimate of his characteristics and contributions; and (4) his speaking. This leads to the historical and rhetorical setting for the complete text of one or more representative sermons. Explanatory and critical footnotes present a rhetorical analysis and seek to recreate the original occasion. At the end of each chapter a selected bibliography lists his speaking, writing, and biographical data.[1]

1. Representative ordained ministers of the Gospel in the Mennonite Church between 1864 and 1944 include: John S.

[1] The dissertation entitled *Mennonite Preaching, 1864-1944,* was submitted to the Department of Speech, Northwestern University, in June 1944, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree. Unpublished copies of the study are to be found in the libraries of Northwestern University and Goshen College. Dr. Umble is now Professor of Speech at Goshen College.

Coffman, Daniel Kauffman, M. S. Steiner, D. D. Miller, D. H. Bender, John F. Funk, Geo. R. Brunk, D. J. Johns, J. S. Hartzler, J. S. Shoemaker, and A. D. Wenger. These men, called to the ministry by local congregations and ordained between 1865 and 1894 exerted a strong influence (out of proportion to their number) on the church at large and on the specific faith and practice within the brotherhood. They are representative of that period of significant forward movement in the Mennonite Church known as the Great Awakening (1880-1910) and yet, in a sense, they were ahead of their time and were in a large part responsible for the awakening. They knew each other intimately and, for the most part, worked together harmoniously. Nine of the eleven were ordained when they were thirty or younger; seven became bishops. One man, D. D. Miller, was ordained three times, serving in turn as deacon, minister, and bishop, a rare occurrence.

2. The ability to speak in public was a factor in the leadership of these men. Some of them first came into general notice as writers, editors, conference committee men and executives. However, all of the men selected for this study achieved a response in part at least as a result of their ability to appear in public; to teach a Sunday school class, to give the Sunday school review, to give testimony at the end of the sermon, to lead in public audible (extemporaneous) prayer, to lead in the singing (unaccompanied) of a song by the congregation, to preach a sermon, to speak in conference, to preside as moderator at district, Sunday school or general conference, to conduct a series of evangelistic meetings, or to teach a series of lessons in a Bible conference. After a minister had gained a reputation as a leader and speaker, many openings came to him for public work in the church, and he often was forced to decide between the advancement of the work of the church at large and the spiritual welfare of his local congregation or even the material comfort of his family.

3. Within the lifetime of these men sermons changed from half-memorized rote preaching to a presentation based on indirect and direct preparation, meditation, and outlines. Instead of reading and commenting on a chapter of the Bible and expecting inspiration to provide the appropriate interpretation and application to the audience situation, the minister deliberately selected a Scripture text, or accepted an assigned one, and then planned an approach and proof, carefully suiting the text and message to the needs of the congregation.

Within this period the language spoken in the Mennonite

worship service shifted from German and Pennsylvania-"Dutch" to English. A few of these men preached in both languages and thus gained greater acceptance. Selecting the language to be spoken for a particular congregation or particular situation was a part of the audience analysis. All of these men preferred to preach in English and the call to the ministry of three of them was related, in part, to their ability to speak and preach in English and thus aid in appealing to and holding the young people who could not understand German. These men and some of their contemporaries encouraged, rather than resisted, the shift from German to English; nine of them had taught school where English was used exclusively. They knew that to be effective, Bible instruction must be presented in the language that the young people used in school. With the language shift came evangelistic meetings, "evergreen" Sunday schools, Bible conferences, and gradually the printing of periodicals and literature adapted to the needs of the church and particularly of the young people.

4. The present study is the first attempt to locate and list the sources of the extant sermons of these men and to present a rhetorical analysis of their representative public speaking in its historical setting. Types of extant sermons and conference addresses reflect the speaker-audience situations. The bibliographies at the end of Chapters II through XII list all known sermons and speeches in manuscripts, periodicals and conference minutes. The number of extant sermons is disappointingly small, ranging from two to twelve or fifteen for each of the men studied. Thus an average of eight or ten sermons remains from a lifetime of preaching, in several cases over fifty years, with an estimated number of sermons totaling three to four thousand. A few are Sunday morning worship sermons; others are sermons for occasions, such as the dedication of a new meetinghouse (church building), the ordination of a minister or bishop, observance of a church ordinance, the meeting of district and general conference, and programs sponsored by special church boards and committees, or other significant religious or historical anniversaries. In a few instances a source reports a synopsis of a conference sermon in enough detail to warrant inclusion in the biblography, particularly if it states the Scripture reference, the central theme, and certain lines of emphases. Extant sermon outlines, Bible conference outlines and selected writings provide highly desirable background for the study of sermons.

5. Since the student of preaching wishes as nearly as possible

to study and report the sermon as it was spoken, brief editorial explanations in the *Herald of Truth* relating to the worship service or conference program are invaluable. The only significant source of Mennonite sermons preached in the English language in the forty years following 1864 is the *Herald of Truth*. This source may be supplemented between 1894 and 1899 by the *Young People's Paper*. Diaries, lists of sermons preached, and news items in the church periodicals verify the audience and occasion although the original manuscripts may not be available. Some of these sermons were written from memory after the time of delivery; as early as 1888 some were taken down in shorthand and then revised. One was written out in advance and read. Two were written to be included in a book of sermons. Since 1925 many sermons have been reported stenographically. Unpublished stenographically-reported sermons preached at a regular Sunday morning service are presented for the two men who are living, J. S. Hartzler and D. D. Miller.

6. The men who preached these sermons possessed little or no direct training for their important task. They were selected by their own local congregations from among their fellow members. In sharp contrast to the earlier practice of calling ministers by the use of the lot, ten of the eleven in this study were selected for ordination by a vote or the "voice" of the congregation without passing through the lot. A review of the activities of these men as public school teachers and Sunday school workers, editors, salesmen, or even as farmers and businessmen, leads to the conclusion that they possessed more than average leadership and speaking ability. All were reared on the farm; all were farmers except Funk and he knew the church well enough to sense the necessity of locating his printing company away from Chicago near a strong Mennonite farm community. Nine had taught school; six taught school for one or more years after their ordination. Steiner went to college one year before he was ordained; Wenger went one year after he was ordained. Ministers were ordained for life, but were subject to the will of the congregation or of conference in case of the abuse of power or in case of personal misconduct.

7. The sermons of these men lean heavily on the New Testament and are characterized by a strong appeal for personal belief and individual commitment. The natural outgrowth of this admonition and appeal was a growing emphasis on home and foreign missions. These men gained conviction as they studied their Bible, and enthusiasm as they observed the activities of other Protestant

denominations. Teaching and living the *full-Gospel* meant relating the belief and life of the individual, the congregation, and the church at large, to salvation and also to the Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, which meant nonresistance (the way of love) and nonconformity (separation from the world). Conference programs provided opportunities to discuss the Christian's responsibility and duty in following Christ and in being (and becoming) a more acceptable witness. These men were "able defenders of the *faith*," the teaching of the New Testament and of the Anabaptist forefathers. They preached: Christ is the rule, the example. He will draw you to Him. The church needs you, welcomes you, and after you have voluntarily united with it, it—through its ordained leaders—instructs you further and, if necessary, disciplines you.

8. With the Bible as the background and the focus of the preaching, these men illustrate a certain uniformity in method of organization and proof. Sermons usually followed a lengthy devotional period consisting of congregational singing, Scripture reading and prayer. The minister began with a Scripture text, announced a theme or related the Bible verse to the occasion, and proceeded to explain or expand and then apply the teaching. From the beginning of the ministry of these men they used outlines. Even during the period when notes were opposed or at least frowned upon, they prepared their sermons and encouraged others to make careful preparation. Logical appeals are dominant in the preaching of Funk, Bender and Brunk; Hartzler, Kauffman and Shoemaker use exposition and explanation rather effectively, although certainly each in a slightly different manner. In the beginning of their ministry Wenger and Johns were able evangelists and later stressed loyalty to the church and to church principles. Coffman possessed great ethical appeal; he stressed the values and benefits of the Christian life and helped many a future leader to an intellectual basis for spiritual motivation. In his earlier and later years Miller's strength was due to this same quality. Steiner was extremely practical and in his versatile manner was capable of brilliant pathos or cumulative logical appeal fortified by quotation and reasoning.

9. The personality of the men and their characteristic choice of ideas and methods of proof were reflected in the method of presentation. Their delivery, conversational in manner, was marked by lack of exaggerated gesture, shifts in posture, and movement of vocal pitch and volume. Congregations would have resented anything that resembled "acting," and these men placed

numerous restrictions on themselves as they advocated the simple life of the Christian based on a simple Gospel and as they preached before their fellow ministers who were not always in sympathy with their program of new activities and methods of church work. And yet there were notable exceptions; from uncritical observers the words "eloquent," "fervent," "inspiring" are sometimes used to describe the preaching of Coffman, Steiner, and Miller. Brunk is referred to as a "lion" in the pulpit, a description at the furthest extreme from conversational speaking. These men, however, used none of the chanting monotone characteristic of many of the previous generation of ministers who preached in half-recited, rhythmical periods.

10. Early in their ministry, all of these men were evangelists. From the point of view of the immediate audience reaction the response to their preaching sometimes was evaluated in relation to the number of their converts. Nearly all of these men were in great demand as Bible conference instructors. To a remarkable degree they aroused a desire for assurance of salvation and added specific teaching on Bible doctrine and holy living. This laid the foundation for the promotion and organization of missions. First they gained a hearing; then they appealed for funds and workers. In view of the inactivity and opposition of the church, both among leadership and laity, these men achieved within two or three decades a most satisfying response to the new methods of strengthening the brotherhood. They felt that publication, evangelism, Sunday school, Bible conference, conference organization, and higher education should serve the church as tools in carrying out its divinely appointed task. This was the goal that these men set for themselves and the vision that they passed on to their followers.

11. Further research and rhetorical study in Mennonite preaching should investigate the available material from the sixteenth century to the present and might concern itself with men, historical periods, and conference groups. Adequate source material exists for an expanded study of certain individual ministers, for regional and conference studies, for translations and critical editions of sermons preached in German and Dutch, for compilations of recent and contemporary sermons, and for interpretative and comparative studies in preaching as it is affecting doctrine, faith and practice, and new movements in youth and service programs.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

An Annotated Bibliography of Published Mennonite Sermons

The publication of sermons, as distinct from tracts and treatises, though common among other Protestant groups from the early days of the Reformation, was almost unknown among the Anabaptists. One anonymous sermon by a South German Anabaptist was identified by Ludwig Keller in Eitelhans Langenmantel's *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* published at Augsburg in 1527. No published sermons by Swiss Brethren or their direct descendants down to the present day are known, in Switzerland, France, or Austria, although a few sermons by South German Mennonites of the nineteenth century have appeared. The writing out of sermons (which precedes their printing) was not done by the lay-preachers of these areas, nor did the Anabaptists and their descendants of the first two hundred years have much interest in printed, theological sermons in any case. It was only later, largely after they had begun to read Lutheran and Reformed books of sermons, particularly under the influence of Pietism in the eighteenth century, and especially after they had begun to use trained ministers, that Mennonites had a real place for printed sermons.

The Dutch were the first among the Mennonites to publish sermons, and the most prolific. Beginning with Pieter Pietersz (1624) and Joost Hendricksz (1647), an almost endless stream of printed sermon collections appeared. The Amsterdam *Catalogus* lists to 1919 almost 400 titles in Dutch, of which almost 200 were printed before 1800. This includes single sermons as well as collections. The first sermons of a German preacher were also in Dutch, those of Willem Wynantsz of Hamburg-Altona (1660). The first German language printed sermon was by Peter Verhelle of the same place (1702). The Hamburg Dompelaar Jacob Denner's tremendous sermon collection (1730, 1718 pages) was not only the largest but probably most influential collection of Mennonite sermons ever printed. Most numerous of the sermon authors were the preachers of Hamburg-Altona, Crefeld, and Danzig. Mennonite sermons printed in Russia appeared mostly in year books and periodicals.

Why were sermons printed? To be read from the pulpits by other preachers? Hardly. To be used as models? Probably. To be read in family worship? Certainly this was the case in later times. The two volumes of West Prussian sermons (1906, 1909) were expressly printed for this purpose according to the title page, "Zum Gebrauch für Hausgottesdienst." As devotional books? No doubt. The reprints of Wynantsz, Deknatel, and Denner in the nineteenth century in America no doubt had this as their primary purpose. It is interesting to note that in 1773 Pennsylvania Mennonites were using "many other books which our old preachers published and left behind for us, as Joost Hendricks, Willem Wynands, Jacob Denner, and many others" (*MQR* III, 1929, 231). It is further interesting to note that the translation of Wynantsz in 1830 was made by the Amishman David Zug, and that all three American editions of this book were

for the Amish. Festival sermons had historical value, such as funeral, ordination, beginning of service (*Antritts-Predigt*). Baptismal sermons may have been printed as souvenirs for the families involved.

Apart from reprints of European sermon collections (1830, 1835, 1852, 1860, 1871) and the curious sermons of the sleeping-preacher Noah Troyer printed after his death (1879, 1880), the only original American Mennonite printed sermons before 1900 were: the sermon on *Christianity and War* (1863) by John M. Brenneman and a collection of New Year's sermons (1885) by the noted Berne, Indiana, preacher, S. F. Sprunger. Sprunger also published a unique international Mennonite sermon-collection in 1891, *Festklänge,* with selections from preachers in the United States, Russia, Switzerland, and Germany. The twentieth century in North America has produced a representative series of sermon books: J. E. Hartzler (1908), J. A. Huffman (1915), G. P. Schultz (1924), A. H. Unruh (1935), J. H. Janzen (1942, 1945), Wm. G. Detweiler (1943, 1949, 1951, 1952), George R. Brunk (1953), and a collection of Mennonite Brethren sermons.

The radio, with its weekly sermon hour, has led to the printing of many Mennonite sermons in recent years.

It should be noted that the custom of writing sermons for reading in the pulpit, in strange contrast to the earlier Anabaptist *ex tempore* preaching, became so firmly established in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Prussia and Russia, that the more conservative groups descending from these regions today actually require that all sermons be read, and that only the sermons of past preachers be used, thus especially the Old Colony Mennonites of Manitoba, Mexico, and Paraguay. The Amish Mennonites of Alsace-Lorraine and Bavaria earlier also used written sermons. Manuscript copies of such sermons and sermon collections are to be found in the Mennonite Historical libraries of Goshen and Bethel colleges today.

The following list of printed Mennonite sermons has been made as extensive as the sources available permit, although certainly some have been missed. No attempt has been made to include sermons printed in conference reports, proceedings of special meetings, church periodicals, congregational bulletins, biographical and historical volumes, etc.; only separately printed pamphlets or books of single or collected sermons being listed. Full titles are given with bibliographical data, and the location of the titles in Goshen and Bethel College libraries. European imprints are also located in the Amsterdam and Hamburg Mennonite libraries.

The list is organized into three sections, (1) Europe outside of Holland, (2) North America, (3) Holland. The first two of these appear in the current issue; the third will appear in a later issue.

The only known published discussion of the history of Mennonite preaching outside of Holland is that by H. G. Mannhardt in *Mennonitische Blätter,* 38:18 f., 22 f., 28 f., 37 f. (1891), entitled "Geschichte der Predigt in den deutschen Mennoniten-Gemeinden." Roy Umble's doctoral dissertation, *Mennonite Preaching, 1864-1944* (Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1949), is a study of the preaching of eleven leading American (old) Mennonite ministers of that period. It has not been published.

Editor's Note: Through a misunderstanding with the printers, the letters ae and oe are frequently printed as double letters in parts of this bibliography, when they were intended to be separate letters.

I. Europe, except Holland

A. *German Language*

1527 A Sermon on Jeremiah 7:3, 4 and 9:8, published without title and author, together with Eitelhans Langenmantel, *Eine schöne Auslegung des Vater Unser* (1527).

Translated into English by J. C. Wenger (*Menn. Quart. Rev.*, XXII: 36-40 [Jan., 1948]) from a print of 1888 (Elkhart, Ind.): *Zwei altevangelische Schriften aus dem Jahre 1527* (*Von der wahren Liebe*—Hans Denk, *Auslegung des Vaterunser*—Hans Langenmantel), edited by John Horsch from a copy in a Hutterite *Epistelbuch* of 1566. There was an edition of 1527, and an early manuscript copy is to be found in the Heidelberg University Library.

1702 (Verhelle, Pieter). *Predigt aus der ersten Epistel Pauli an die Corinthier Cap. 15. v. 55. 56. 57,* gehalten am Sonntage nach Ostern in der Tauffgesinneten Gemeine, durch den jüngsten Prediger derselben Gemeine. Ratzeburg, Sigismund Hoffman, 1702. 46 pp. A, G.

Verhelle was a Mennonite preacher at Hamburg-Altona, 1693-1698. This sermon has been mistakenly attributed to Gerrit Roosen of Hamburg.

1730 Denner, Jacob (1659-1746). *Einfältige und christliche Betrachtungen* über die jährlichen und heiligen Evangelia, durch Gottes Gnade in öffentlicher Versammlung in Altona mündlich vorgetragen durch einen Liebhaber der allgemeinen Wahrheit unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, und unter währender Predigt von einem christlichen Zuhörer aus dem Holländischen ins Hochteutsche versetzt, sodann durch einen andern Freund zu des nächsten Erbauung zum Druck befördert, im Jahre 1730. Nebst einem Anhange unterschiedener Texte sowohl aus dem Alten und Neuen Testamente. (Hamburg ?: 1730) 1366, 352 pp. A, B, G. Reprint: Hamburg: 1739. G

Translated from the Dutch *Eenvoudige Predicatien* . . . (Amsterdam: 1707). The first part of the 1730 collection was reprinted a number of times; see next item. Denner was a noted preacher of the Dompelaar congregation, an immersionist schism of the Altona Mennonite Church, preaching chiefly in Hamburg-Altona, 1684-1746.

1739 Denner, Jacob (1659-1746). *Christlich- und erbauliche Betrachtungen* über die Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelia des gantzen Jahres . . . Dantzig: 1739. A. Reprints: (Hamburg ?): 1751: B, G. Frankenthal: 1792: B, G. Philadelphia: 1860: B, G

This reprint contains only the first and longer of the two sections of the 1730 imprint. Goshen College Library has a prospectus which indicates that Joseph B. Steiner, a Mennonite publisher of Doylestown, Pa., attempted to bring out an English translation by H. W. Gehrke in 1901, but there is no evidence that the English edition was ever published.

1750 Beets, Gerrit (1707-1776). *Gedächtnispredigt* auf Gerrit Karsdorp sen. vom 18. Oct. 1750. H

Gerrit Beets was a Mennonite preacher at Hamburg-Altona 1727-1776.

1757 Deknatel, Johannes (1698-1759). *Acht Predigten,* über wichtige Materien, betreffend den Weg um selig zu werden durch den Glauben an Jesum, und im heiligen Leben zu wandeln, von Johannes Deknatel, Prediger bey der christlichen Gemeine, die man Mennonisten nennet, in Amsterdam. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt. Büdingen: Johann Christoph Stöhr, 1757. 332 pp. G, H

Deknatel was a preacher in the Lamist Mennonite Church in Amsterdam 1720-1759. The *Acht Predigten* were reprinted at Allentown, Pa., in 1835.

1784 Rahusen, Reinhard (1735-1793). *Sammlung einiger Predigten und Reden* bey feyerlichen Gelegenheiten als Taufe, Abendmahl, Hochzeit, u. s. w., in der Mennoniten-Gemeine gehalten, nebst beygefügtem üblichen Ceremoniel, von Reinhard Rahusen, Prediger in der Mennoniten-Gemeine in Leer in Ostfriesland. Bremen: Georg Ludwig Förster, 1784. 301 pp. A, G

Rahusen was a Mennonite preacher at Enkhuizen, Holland, 1760-1763, at Leer, 1763-1785, and at Hamburg, 1785-1793.

1788 Kröcker, Isaac (d. 1786). *Zwanzig Predigten* über verschiedene Texte der heiligen Schrift, von Isaac Kröcker, ehemaligen Aeltesten und Lehrer der Mennonitischen Gemeine zu Königsberg. Königsberg: Dan Christ, Kanter, 1788. 608 pp. B, D.

Kröcker was a Mennonite elder at Königsberg 1768-1786.

—— Rahusen, Reinhard (1735-1793). *Zweite Sammlung einiger Predigten* bey feyerlichen Gelegenheiten, nebst einer kurzen Beschreibung des Ursprunges und der jetzigen Beschaffenheit der Mennoniten. Bremen: 1788.

Cited by Crous in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*: "Rahusen, Reinhard."

1794 *Ernstliches Nachdenken über die grosse Gnade Gottes in Christo Jesu,* Gastpredigt zu Rosenort im Elbingschen Quartier von einem Lehrer der Mennonitengemeinde zu Stadtgebiet. Altschottland: 1794. D

1801 Hœkstra, Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz (1763-1817). *Dank- und Ermahnungs-Predigt,* geh. den 1. Jan. 1801. (Text: Jerem. 13:16.) Nach dem holländ. Original übers. Altona: 1801. A

The Dutch original has not been located. It may have been included in a previously published collection of sermons by Hoekstra. J. A. S. Hoekstra was a preacher in the Mennonite congregation at Altona, 1793-1817.

1812 Hoekstra, Joannes Albertus Sjoerdsz (1763-1817), and Goös, Isaac (d. 1845). *Gesammlete Denkmäler der Liebe und Achtung.* Dem Andenken des würdigen Lehrers der Mennoniten in Hamburg und Altona, Gerhard Karsdorp, von seinen beiden Amtsbrüdern, der Hamburger patriotischen Gesellschaft und einigen Seiner aufrichtigen Verehrer gewidmet. Mit des Seligen wohlgetroffenem Portrait. Altona: Jacob Schultz, 1812. 172 pp. A, G, H

1815 Tiessen, Peter, jr. *Eine Huldigungspredigt* zur Erinnerung an die Sr. Königl. Majestät Friedrich Wilhelm dem Dritten am 3. August 1815 in Danzig geleisteten Erbhuldigung, vor der mennonitischen Gemeinde in der engl. Kirche in Danzig, gehalten den 6. August 1815 von Peter Tiessen, junior. Danzig: Carl Heinrich Eduard Müller (1815). 24 pp. G

1817 Goos, Isaac (d. 1845). *Zwei Predigten* am Reformations-Jubelfeste. Altona: J. Schultz, 1817. H

1830 Zeisset, C. *Zwei Leichenreden* auf den verstorbenen Mennoniten-Prediger Sam. Zeisset von Lautenbach, und die verstorbene Ehefrau des Chr. Hunzinger, Eva geb. Fellmann. Worms: 1830. A

1831 Weydmann, Leonhard (1793-1868). *Fünf Predigten* in Bezug auf die neuesten Erscheinungen in der protestantischen Kirche. Crefeld: 1831. A

Weydmann was a Mennonite preacher at Crefeld 1836-1866.

1836 Molenaar, Isaak (1776-1834). *Predigten,* von Isaak Molenaar, gewesenem Pfarrer der Mennonitengemeine zu Crefeld. Nebst einem biographischen Vorworte über den Verfasser vom Pro-

fessor Sack in Bonn. Meurs: Rheinische Schul-Buchhandlung, 1836. 261 pp. A, G

Isaak Molenaar was a Mennonite preacher at Krefeld 1818-1834.

—— Smissen, Jacob van der. *Zwei kurze Betrachtungen über Joh. 4, 23. 24. und I. John. 4, 16.* Nach dem Wunsche einiger Freunde herausgegeben von Jacob van der Smissen, Prediger der Taufgesinnten. Norden: J. F. Schmidt, 1836, 31 pp. B

—— Weydmann, Leonhard (1793-1868). *Predigt beim Antritt seines Amtes in Crefeld* am 6. März 1836 gehalten. Crefeld: 1836. A

1842 Hoekstra, Johannes Albertus Sjoerdsz (1763-1817). *Sieben Passions Predigten,* gehalten in der Kirche der Hamburg-Altonaischen Mennoniten-Gemeine, von J. A. S. Hoekstra. Aus dem holländischen Manuscripte übersetzt von J. van der Smissen, Prediger der Mennoniten. Bremen: Johann Georg Heyse, 1842. 107 pp. G

1843 Ewert, Gerhard. *Sieben Betrachtungen* des andächtigen Pilgers auf dem Wege gen Zion nach der Stadt des lebendigen Gottes. Nach Anleitung der Heiligen Schrift in der Kürze gefasset von G. E. zu Gr. Lunau in der Gemeinde bei Culm. Graudenz: C. G. Röthe, 1843. 130 pp. B

—— Reeder, Hermann. *Predigten* an Festtagen und bei besonderen Veranlassungen gehalten von Herm. Reeder, Prediger der Taufgesinnten-Gemeine Weyerhof bei Kirchheim-Bolanden. Leipzig: Karl Tauchnitz, 1843. 211 pp. A, B, G, H

Reeder was pastor of the Weierhof congregation from 1835 to 1848. His life dates are unknown.

1844 Molenaar, Johannes (1810-1868). *Evangelische Stimmen,* Predigtsammlung auf alle Sonn- und Festtage. In Verbindung mit mehreren ev. mennonitischen Predigern herausgegeben von Johannes Molenaar, Prediger der ev. Mennoniten-Gemeine in Monsheim bei Worms. Erstes Heft. Leipzig: Karl Tauchnitz, 1844. 192 pp. A, B, G, H

Contains sermons by J. Ellenberger, J. de Liefde, Johann Gottfried Lübkes, J. Mannhardt, and Isaak Molenaar, as well as Johannes Molenaar. Johannes Molenaar was a Mennonite preacher at Monsheim 1836-1867.

—— Weydmann, Leonhard (1793-1868). *Predigt bei der Einweihungsfeier der erneuerten Mennoniten-Kirche zu Crefeld,* am 20. Dezember 1843 gehalten. Crefeld: 1844. A

1853 Wüst, Eduard (1818-1859). *Zehn Passions-Predigten* gehalten in der Berdianischen Brüder-Gemeine am Asowischen Meer in der Passions-Zeit 1852. Reval: Lindfors, 1853. 240 pp. B

This and the next item are included here, not as a Mennonite production, but because of Wüst's influence on the Russian Mennonites.

—— Wüst, Eduard (1818-1859). *Drei Weihnachts-Predigten* gehalten in der Berdianischen Brüder-Gemeinde am Asowischen Meer in der Weihnachts-Zeit 1851 vom Pfarrer E. Wüst. Reval: Lindfors Erben, 1853. 58 pp. B

See note on preceding item.

1859 Harder, Karl (1820-1898). *Predigten,* von Carl Harder, Prediger der evangelischen Mennonitengemeinde zu Neuwied. Neuwied: J. H. Heuser, 1859, 1860. 2 vols. Vol. I at A, G; Vol. II at A

Karl (also Carl) Harder was born at Königsberg. He served as minister at Neuwied 1857-1868, and at Elbing 1868-1898.

1861 Roosen, Berend Carl (1820-1904). *Zwei Predigten* von B. C. Roosen, die erste gehalten am 13. Januar 1861, als am 300 jährigen

Todestage Menno Simonis', die andere gehalten am 20. Januar 1861. Hamburg: 1861. 28 pp. B, G, H

B. C. Roosen was a Mennonite preacher at Hamburg-Altona 1845-1885.

1864 Harder, Karl (1820-1898). *Festpredigten für das evangelische Völk,* gehalten von C. Harder. Neuwied und Leipzig: 1864.

Listed in Ernst Crous's *Nachruf* for Karl and Ernst Harder, p. 8; Mannhardt, *Jahrbuch* (1888), p. 165.

1870 *Die Feier des 25-jährigen Jubiläums der Wahl von Berend Carl Roosen* zum festen Prediger an der Mennoniten-Gemeinde zu Hamburg-Altona, am 12. October 1870 in der dortigen Mennoniten-Kirche. Hamburg: 1870. 20 pp. G

Includes the anniversary sermon preached by Roosen.

1875 Harder, Karl (1820-1898). *Dabei wird Jedermann erkennen dass ihr meine Jünger seid, so ihr Liebe untereinander habt,* Predigt am 1. August 1875 in der Mennonitenkirche zu Elbing gehalten. Elbing: 1875.

Listed in Crous's *Nachruf* for Karl and Ernst Harder, p. 8.

1883 Mannhardt, Hermann Gottlieb (1855-1927). *Drei geistliche Reden* gehalten bei der Taufe der erwachsenen Jugend am Palmsonntag 1881, 82, 83, von H. G. Mannhardt, Prediger der Danziger Mennoniten-Gemeinde. Danzig: Commissionsverlag von Bertling, 1883. 34 pp. A, G

Mannhardt was a Mennonite preacher at Danzig 1879-1927.

1887-1889 Separately printed sermons with continuous pagination in two series, which were distributed as inserts in the *Mennonitische Blätter* (Hamburg-Altona).

H. G. Mannhardt in an article "Geschichte der Predigt in den deutschen Mennoniten-gemeinden" in *Mennonitische Blätter,* 38:38 (1 April 1891) says that the series for the three years contained thirty-five sermons: six by himself; four by H. v. d. Smissen; three each by J. P. Müller, K. Harder, E. Weydmann, and J. Ellenberger; two each by B. C. Roosen, H. Neufeld, L. Hesta, A. G. van Gilse, and C. Neff; and one each by A. von Billau, A. Hirschler, and P. Kieferndorf. Goshen College Library has twenty-one of these sermons. Other libraries have various items from the series.

1888 Hesta, Leonhard (1856-1901). *Predigt über Phil. 1, 25.* gehalten am 15. April 1888. Norden: 1888. A

Hesta was a Mennonite preacher at Norden 1884-1889.

1890 Müller, Johann Peter (1829-1907). *Drei Predigten.* Emden: (1890). A

Müller was a Mennonite preacher at Emden 1872-1904.

1891-1899 *Predigten aus Mennoniten-Gemeinden,* herausgegeben im Auftrage des Kuratoriums der Vereinigung der Mennoniten-Gemeinden im deutschen Reich. Jahrgänge I-IX. Emden: 1891-1899. A; Jahrgang III at G

One monthly sermon for nine years.

1892 Smissen, Hinrich van der (1851-1928). *Tauf-Predigt,* gehalten zu Berlin am 7. August 1892, von Herrn Pastor H. van der Smissen aus Altona. Berlin, S. W.: Gregor Hornberg, 1892. 15 pp. G

H. van der Smissen was a Mennonite preacher at Hamburg-Altona 1885-1928.

1900 Kröker, Jacob (1872-1948). *Der Mitarbeiter,* eine Sammlung von Predigtentwürfen und Dispositionen über freie Texte. In zwei Teilen. Elberfeld: F. W. Köhler, 1900. 111 pp. B

Kröker was a Mennonite Brethren preacher in South Russia, 1898-1910, thereafter in Germany with his residence at Wernigerode.

—— Mannhardt, Hermann Gottlieb (1855-1927). *Rede bei der Tauffeier in der Berliner Mennoniten-Gemeinde* am 20. Mai 1900. (Danzig: 1900). A

1901 Kröker, Abraham (1863-1944). *Die Bitte der göttlichen Liebe,* Predigt über Sprüche Sal. 23, 26. Spat: Station Sarabus, Krimea: Abr. Kröker (1901-?).

Advertised on back cover of *Zeugnisse von Christo,* January, 1901.

—— Kröker, Abraham (1863-1944), and Kröker, Jacob (1872-1948), editors. *Zeugnisse von Christo.* Spat: Sata. Sarabus, Krimea: Abr. Kröker, 1901-?

A collection of sermons in monthly installments. It is uncertain as to just how long publication continued. Bethel and Goshen have early installments.

1904 Dirks, Heinrich (1842-1915). *Gedanken über Taufe, Gemeinde-Beschaffenheit und Abendmahl in einer Pfingst- und Taufpredigt,* mit einem Vor- und Nachworte, von Heinrich Dirks, Ältesten der Gnadenfelder Mennoniten-gemeinde. In den Druck gegeben aus Veranlassung der Brochüre "Menschenstimmen und Gottesstimme." Grosz-Tokmak (Russia): H. Lenzmann (1904). 44 pp. B, G

Dirks was the first Mennonite missionary in Sumatra, 1870-1881, then elder of the Mennonite congregation Gnadenfeld in the Ukraine 1881-1915.

1905 Mannhardt, Hermann Gottlieb (1855-1927). *Predigten und Reden aus Funfundzwanzigjähriger Amtszeit,* von H. G. Mannhardt, Prediger der Danziger Mennoniten-Gemeinde. Danzig: John & Rosenberg, 1905. 394 pp. B. Reprint: Danzig: 1913: G

n.d. Müller, Johann Peter (1829-1907). *Die Vermittlung jedes höheren Aufschwungs in der Menschheit nur durch Glauben möglich,* Predigt über Matth. 13. 58. n.p.: n.d. A

1906-1909 *Predigten vorgetragen in den Mennoniten-Gemeinden Westpreussens,* zum Gebrauch für Hausgottesdienst. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1906, 1909. 2 vols. G

Sermons for each Sunday of the year, without names of authors.

1912 Kræmer, Gustav (1863-1948). *Ansprache vor der Taufe in der Mennonitenkirche zu Krefeld* am 31. März 1912, gedruckt auf Wunsch des Consistoriums der Gemeinde. Krefeld: Kramer & Baum, 1912. 14 pp. B

Kraemer was a Mennonite preacher at Crefeld 1903-1936.

1934 Kræmer, Gustav (1863-1948). *Ansprache bei der Tauffeier in Krefeld* am 25. März 1934, gedruckt auf Wunsch des Consistoriums der Mennoniten-gemeinde. (Krefeld: 1934). 12 pp. G

B. *In the Dutch Language*

1660 Wynantz, Willem (1630-1658). *LVIIJ. Stichtelycke Predicatien* gedæn en schriftelyk nærgelaten, midtsgaders noch tien bygevœgde Predicatien, gedaan door G. T. van den Wijngært. Amsterdam: P. la Burgh, 1660. A, H

Wynantz was a Mennonite preacher in Altona 1655-1658.

1702 Huijzen, Cornelis van (1667-1721). *Ezechiels Gehoorsæmheyd . . .* Kerk-rede over Ezech. 24:15-18. Embden: 1702. A

C. van Huijzen was a Mennonite preacher at Emden 1701-1721.

1703 Huijzen, Cornelis van (1667-1721). *Paulus beede, aan de geloovigen te Roome* . . . Bevestigingspredicatie over Rom. 15:30, 31. (Uitgespr. te Emden, 9 Juli 1702.) Amsterdam: 1703. A

1706 Denner, Jacob (1659-1746). *Eenige christelyke Uitbreidingen,* over verscheidene Schriftuurlijke Texten soo wel uyt het Oude als Nieuwe Verbondt . . . Amsterdam and Danzig: Jansoons van Wæsberge, 1706. 746, 202 pp. A, B

1707 Denner, Jacob (1659-1746). *Eenvoudige Predicatien* . . . Amsterdam: 1707. Translated into the German and published in 1730 under the title *Einfältige und christliche Betrachtungen über die jährlichen und heiligen Evangelia* . . . (Hamburg ?).

Cited by Neff in *Mennonitisches Lexikon*: "Denner, Jakob."

—— Denner, Jacob (1659-1746). *De Wysheit des Heeren* vertoont door eenvoudige Predicatien. (Waarachter: *Eenige Christelyke Uitbreidingen* . . . Amst. en Dansig, 1706.) Amst. und Dantzig: 1707. A, H

1728 Ley, E. J. *Lykreeden.* Op Wytse de Vries, L(eeraar) te Embden, overl. 21 Dec. 1727. Over. Pred. 12:5. (Uitgespr. te Embden, 18 Jan. 1728.) (Hierbij lijkdichten v. E. J. Ley en M. Schagen.) Amsterdam: 1728. A

Ley was a Mennonite preacher at Emden?

1749 Karsdorp, Gerrit (d. 1750). *De Zaaligheit der Geener, die in den Heere sterven,* vorgestellt uyt Openb. 14, 13, over de Doot van den eerwaarden Henrick Teunis de Jager, in zyn Leeven Oudste Leeraar der Doopsgezinde Gemeente tot Hamburg en Altona, door Gerrit Karsdorp, Leeraar in deselve Gemeente, met een Voorreede door syn Amptgenoot Gerrit Beets. Hamburg: Conradt Koning (1749). 40 pp. G, H

G. Karsdorp, sr., was a preacher in the Mennonite congregation at Friedrichstadt and then at Hamburg 1718-1750.

1750 Beets, Gerrit (1707-1776). *De vrolyke gesettheyd eenes Christen tegens de verschrikkingen des doods* . . . Lijkrede op. G. Karsdorp, L(eeraar) te Hamburg en Altona (overl. 19 Sept. 1750). Uitgespr. 18 Oct. 1750. (Tekst: 2 Tim. 1:12.) Hamburg: (1750). A, H

1765 Rahusen, Reinhard (1735-1793). *Messias herders last* . . . Afscheid te Enchuisen, 9 Oct. 1763. Tekst: Micha 7:14. En intrede te Lier (Leer) in Oostvriesland, 6 Nov. 1763. Tekst: Ps. 63:9. Groningen: 1765. A

1766 Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811). *Lyk- en gedachtenisreeden* over Gen. 48. vs. 21 op S. K. M. Frederik de Vyfde, Erfkoning v. Denemark en Noorwegen . . . uitgespr. in Altona d. 18. Maart 1766. Hamburg: (1766). A, H

G. Karsdorp, Jr., was a Mennonite preacher at Hamburg-Altona 1764-1811.

—— Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811). *De zegen van Jehova over Koningen, die na syn harte zyn* . . . Leerreeden over Ps. 127:1 vergeleken m. Ps. 91:14-16. Uitgespr. te Altona, 25 May 1766. Hamburg: (1766). A

—— Rahusen, Reinhard (1735-1793). *Het gelukkige lot der geestelyke Overwinnaars door den Dood* . . . Lijkrede op J. D. Vissering, Diacon te Lehr (overl. 12 Jan. 1766). Over Phil. 1:21b. Uitgespr. 26 Jan. Groningen: 1766. A

1771 Beets, Pieter (1729-1776). *Afscheids-Rede te Almelo* den 21sten April 1771, en *Intree-Rede in de Gemeente te Hamburg en Altona* den 16sten Juny 1771, uitgesprooken door Pieter Beets, Leeraar der Mennoniten. Hamburg: Pieter Beets (1771). 96 pp. A, G, H

Pieter Beets was a Mennonite preacher at Hamburg-Altona 1771-1776.

—— Denner, Jacob (1659-1746). *LXXI Predicatien.* Hoorn: 1771.

Cited by Neff in *Mennonitisches Lexikon*: "Denner, Jacob."

1774 Beets, Pieter (1729-1776). *Redevœring ter Inwyding van de gemeentelyke School te Altona opgerecht,* uitgesprooken den 12ten Sept. 1774, waar bygevœgd is de School-Ordening. Altona: Gemeentelyke School (1774). 48 pp. G, H

1776 Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811). *Het Character v. wylen den Eerw. P. Beets,* L(eeraar) der Doopsgez. te Hamburg en Altona (overl. 25 Aug. 1776), getœtst . . . Lijkrede, uitgespr. te Altona, 20 Oct., over Openb. 2:19. Altona: 1776. A, H

1777 Beets, Pieter (1729-1776). *Schetzen van Leerredenen* benevens eenige Geestelyke Liedern, van Pieter Beets in zyn Leven Leeraar der Doopsgezinden te Hamburg en Altona voltooid en uitgegeven na den Dood des Aucteurs. Altona: Gebrœders Burmester, 1777. 40 pp. A, G, H

—— Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811). *De volmaakte Gelukzaligheid der Hemellingen* onder het Bestier van den Opziener harer Ziele, Jezus Christus . . . Lijkrede op G. Beets, L(eeraar) te Hamb(urg) en Altona (overl. 8 Dec. 1776), over Jes. 49:10. (Attached, G. Beets, Het groote, algemene en doorlugtige Oordeel Gods . . . Tekst: I Cor. 4:5.) Altona: 1777. A

1778, 1779 Beets, Pieter (1729-1776). *XXX Predikatien* over gewigtige Stoffen. M. een voorrede over 't caracter van den autheur d. C. Ris. Hoorn: 1778, 1779. 2 vols. in 1. A, H

1782 Rahusen, Reinhard (1735-1793). *Tweetal van Leer-reedenen* bestaande in eene Lyken Troost-reeden over Joh. 13. vs. 7. weegens het overl. v. J. Y. Bouman, Proponent der Mennon. Gem. te Leer, gest. op de Accad. te Göttingen, uitgespr. d. 26 Aug. des Jaars 1781. d. R. Rahusen (en) in eene Kerk-reeden over Hebr. 7 vs. 26. geh. d. 12 Sept. des Jaars 1779 te Leer d. Wylen J. Y. Bouman, benevens eenige feestliederen en twee gelegenheidsgedichten door dien zelven Auteur. Groningen: 1782. A, H

1784 Jager, Jan de (1719-1802). *De zalige Hope en Verwachting eener godvruchtige Ziele, in Leeven en in Sterven,* ter Gelegenheid van het zalig Overlyden van wylen den Eerwaarden Jan Ris, in zyn Leeven Leeraar der Doopsgezinden te Hamburg en Altona, overwogen in eene Redevœring over Psalm 39 vers 8., door Jan de Jager, Leeraar in dezelve Gemeente, te Altona den 24 October 1784. Hamburg: Gottl. Fried. Schniebes (1784). 95 pp. A, G, H

Jan de Jager was a Mennonite preacher at Hamburg-Altona 1750-1802.

—— Ris, Jan (1756-1784). *De Christelyke Waterdoop,* zoo als die met het Gelove gepaart synde eenen Invlœd heeft op onze Zaligheid, by de Bediening van den heiligen Doop overwogen door wylen den Eerwaarden Jan Ris, Leeraar der Doopsgezinden te Hamburg en Altona, in eene Redevœring over Marcus 16. vs. 16. op den 28. Maart 1784. Hamburg: Gottl. Fried. Schniebes (1784). 55 pp. A, G, H

Ris was a Mennonite preacher at Hamburg-Altona 1775-1784.

1785 Rahusen, Reinhard (1735-1793). *De Geloovsvolle en blyde Rœm,* eenes in den Heere stervenden Leeraars, . . . Lijkrede op Marcus Arisz, L(eeraar) te Norden, overl. 4 Dec. 1784. Over Ps. 118:17. Uitgespr. te Norden 19 Dec. en te Leer 22 Dec. 1784. Aurik: 1785. A, G

1786 Styl, J. *Lykrede op het afsterven van Frederik den Tweeden,* Koning v. Pruissen . . . Uitgespr. te Emmerik, 24 Sept. 1786. (Tekst: 1 Kron. 17:8.) Amsterdam en Harlingen: 1786. A

1787 Hœkstra, Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz (1763-1817). *Leerredenen en Bedestonden.* Utrecht: 1787. A, H

—— Rahusen, Reinhard (1735-1793). *Tiental van Leer-redenen* over de gewigtige Gelykenisse der wyze en dwaaze Maagden, volgens Mattheus 25. vers 1-13, benevens een aanhangzel van drie kerkelyke Redevœringen by byzondere Gelegentheden opgesteld, door Reinhard Rahusen, Leeraar des Euangeliums onder de Mennoniten te Hamburg en Altona. Altona: C. C. Eckstorff, 1787. 464 pp. A, G, H

1788 Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811). *Stand- en Gedagtenis-Rede,* over wylen den Heer Berend Roosen, in Leeven veeljaarig yverig en naarstig Diakon by de Mennoniten Gemeente te Hamburg en Altona. De Eerste gedaan by het Graf op het Kerkhof den 9 Juny dezes Jaars, door den Eerw. Do. Gerrit Karsdorp, Leeraar in die zelfde Gemeente. De andere over Ps. 103. v. 15-17, behelzende de onveranderlyke Gœdertierentheit van Jehova God, als een krachtige troost tegen alle de vervaarnissen van den bleeken dood en het akelyke Graf, uitgesproken in de Kerk der Mennoniten te Altona op Zondag den 15 Juny 1788, door Reinhard Rahusen, Bedienaar des heiligen Euangeliums in die zelfde Gemeente. Altona: C. C. Eckstorff, sen., 1788. 56 pp. G, H

1790 Hoekstra, Sjœrd Sytzes (1726-1789), and Hœkstra, Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz (1763-1817). *Plechtige Leerredenen.* (2 Leerredenen van S. S. Hœkstra, ter inwijding der Mennonieten kerk te Embden, over 1 Chron. 29:1 en 2 Chron. 6:20, 21. Uitgespr. 26 Nov. 1769. Treur- en troostrede van J. A. S. Hœkstra tot aandenken v. S. S. Hœkstra, L[eeraar] te Embden, overl. 14 Aug. 1789, over 1 Thess. 4:13, 14. Uitgespr. 1 Nov. 1789. Achteraan: J. A. S. Hœkstra, Treur- en Troostzang; F. v. d. V., Treurgalm; Grafschriften v. dezelfden.) Utrecht: 1790. A, H

S. S. Hoekstra was a Mennonite preacher at Emden 1759-1789.

—— Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811). *Stand- en Gedagtenis-Rede* over Abr. Wynands, L(eeraar) te Hamb(urg) en Altona (overl. 29 Aug. 1790). Uitgespr. te Hamb(urg) 3 Sept. en 10 Oct. 1790. (Tekst: Luc. 12:35-38.) Altona: 1790. A, H

1793 Hœkstra, Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz (1763-1817). *Twee Leerredenen,* de eene bij het tœdienen van den christlijken Doop (over Hand. 8:37), de andere ten Afscheid v. de Doopsgez. Gemeente te Utrecht . . . Vooraf is geplaatst eenig verslag aangaande het Doopsgez. Kerkgenootschap. Utrecht: 1793. A, H

—— Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811), and Jager, Jan de (1719-1802). *Het godsalig Sterven van wylen den Eerw. Heer Reinhard Rahusen,* L(eeraar) der Mennon. te Hamb(urg) en Altona (overl. 8. Maart 1793), overwogen . . . M. een Troostzang d. J. A. S. Hœkstra, en een Lyk-digt (v. H. v. d. Berg). Altona: 1793. A, H

1794 Hœkstra, Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz (1763-1817). *Iets ter handhaaving en bevordering van Waarheid en Plicht,* door Joannes Albertus S. Hœkstra. . . . Gedrukt voor reekening van den Aucteur. Altona: 1794. 144 pp. A, G, H

—— Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811); Jager, Jan de (1719-1802), and Hœkstra, Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz (1763-1817). *Leerredenen* . . . Altona: 1794. A, H

—— Plœg, Hidde Wibius van der (1769-1853). *Een Woord op zyn tyd* . . . Leerrede over Eph. 5:15, 16, uitgespr. 17 Aug. 1794. Crefeld: (1794) A

H. W. van der Ploeg was minister for a time at Crefeld.

1797 Hœkstra, Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz (1763-1817). *Iets over Gods Grootheid,* blykbaar in zyne luistervolle eigenschappen, voorgedraagen in een tiental Leerredenen. Altona: Jacob Schultz, 1797. 350 pp. A, G

1800 Hœkstra, Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz (1763-1817), and Goös, Isaac (d. 1845). *Pligtschuldigen en passende Beandwoording der Jubelpredikatie* van den weleerwaarden en zeergeleerden Heer Gerrit Karsdorp, gehouden op den 27. July, in der Mennonieten Kerk te Altona, in twee daartœ dienende Leerredenen, op den 3den en 10den Augustus, door deszelfs Amtgenoten Joannes Albertus S. Hœkstra en Isaak Goös. Altona: Jacob Schultz (1800). 104 pp. G, H

—— Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811). *Jubelpredikatie* ter gelegenheid der 50jähr. Amtsbediening 27. Juli 1800. Altona: (1800).

Cited by Otto Schowalter in *Mennonitisches Lexikon*: "Karsdorp, Gerrit."

1802 Beets, Pieter (1729-1776). *Drie Leerredenen* over de gelijkenis van den verloren zoon ter voorbereiding tot, viering en nabetrachting van het H. Avondmaal. Uitgespr. te Westzaandam. Amsterdam: Brave u. Zaandam. v. Aken, 1802. H

—— Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811). *Redevœring* (uitgespr. 5 Sept. 1802) over het noodzaakelyk verband tusschen de prediking v. het goddel. Woord en tusschen een gereegeld christel. gezang, by den openb. Godsd. aangeweezen (uit Col. 3:16) by de invœring v. een nieuw Gezangboek (voor de D. G. te Hamburg en Altona). Altona: 1802. A

—— Karsdorp, Gerrit (1729-1811), and Hœkstra, Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz (1763-1817). *Stand- en Gedachtenis-rede over Jan de Jager,* L(eeraar) te Hamburg en Altona. Uitgespr. 19. May en 13. Juny 1802. Altona: (1802). A, H

1810 Hœkstra, Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz (1763-1817). *Jubelpredikatie* wegens 25 jaarige Amtsverrichtung in onderscheidene Doopsgezinde Gemeenten; gehouden in de Kerk der Mennonieten Gemeente te Altona op den 8sten van Wynmaant 1809, door Joannes Albertus Sjœrdsz. Hœkstra, Leeraar der Mennonieten te Hamburg en Altona. Uitgegeven op byzonder Verzoek van den Eeerwaarden Kerkenraad der Mennonieten Gemeente te Hamburg en Altona. Altona: Jacob Schultz, 1810. 131 pp. A, G, H

1817 Goös, Isaac (d. 1845). *Lyk- en Gedachtenis Redenen,* wegens het Overlyden v. J. A. S. Hœkstra, leeraar laatst te Hamburg en Altona: overl. 7. Dec. 1817. M. lijkzang en grafgedachten v. J. Philippo en Lijkdicht v. H. Verschoor. Altona: (1817). A, H

Goös was a Mennonite preacher at Hamburg-Altona 1801-1845.

II. *North America*

1830 Wynantz, Wilhelm (1630-1658). *Predigten über höchst wichtige Gegenstände des Christenthums,* von Wilhelm Wynantz, Diener des Worts an der Gemeine zu Altona, 1654. Welchen ist beygefügt: Antwort auf einige Fragen, oder Anweisungen von der Meidung der Abfälligen, von Menno Simon. Alles aus der holländischen in die hochdeutsche Sprache übersetzt von David Zug, und zum Druck befördert von Johann Heinrich Fitger. Lancaster, Pa.: Johann Bär, 1830. 297 pp. B, G. Reprints: Lancaster, Pa.: 1871. G. Scottdale, Pa. (1926). B, G

Translation of eight sermons, presumably out of the Dutch edition of 1660 (Amsterdam): *LVIII stichtelycke Predicatien.* The 1871 reprint has a slightly changed title: *Erbauliche Predigten . . .* The title page of the 1926 reprint mistakenly ascribes the translation to Johann Zug.

1835 Deknatel, Johannes (1698-1759). *Acht Predigten,* über wichtige Materien, betreffend den Weg um seelig zu werden durch den Glauben an Jesum und im heiligen Leben zu wandeln, von Johannes Deknatel. Allentown, Pa.: A. A. und W. H. Blumer, 1835. 288 pp. B, G

Reprint of the German edition (Büdingen), 1757. Sermons 1, 2, 3, and 8 were issued separately in the series *Eine Reihe von Predigten nach der Lehre der wahren Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten,* which were reprinted from the 1835 reprint by J. G. Stauffer, Quakertown, Pa.

1852 Smissen, Carl Justus van der (1811-1890), and Roosen, Berend Karl. *Sammlung von Predigten* von Carl J. van der Smissen, Prediger der Mennoniten Gemeinde in Friedrichstadt, Dänemark, und Berend Karl Roosen, Prediger der Mennoniten Gemeinde zu Hamburg und Altona. Berlin, West Canada: Peter Eby, 1852. 163 pp. B, G

C. J. van der Smissen was a Mennonite preacher at Friedrichstadt 1836-1868; later he served on the faculty of the Mennonite school at Wadsworth, Ohio.

1863 Brenneman, John M. (1816-1895). *Christianity and War,* a sermon setting forth the sufferings of Christians, the origin and import of the Christian name, Christianity and war considered, illustrated and set forth; also, a short address to the Mennonite Brethren, to which are appended several beautiful and well adapted hymns, by a minister of the Old Mennonite Church. Chicago: Chas. Hess, 1863. 64 pp. G. Reprints: Elkhart, Ind.: 1868. G. (Arthur, Ill.: 1915). G. Translated into the German; see next item.

1864 Brenneman, John M. (1816-1895). *Das Christenthum und der Krieg,* eine Predigt die Leiden der Christen darstellend, der Ursprung und Bedeutung des Christen-Namens, das Christenthum und der Krieg betrachtet, erläutert und dargestellt. Ebenfalls: Eine kurze Anrede an die Mennoniten-Brüder, welchem beigefügt sind mehrere schöne und passende Lieder, von einem Diener der Mennoniten-Gemeinschaft. Lancaster, Pa.: J. Bär's Söhnen, 1864. 64 pp. G. Translated from the English of 1863. Reprints: Elkhart, Ind.: 1868. G. (Arthur, Ill.: 1920). B, G.

1879 Troyer, Noah (1831-1878). *Sermons delivered by Noah Troyer,* the noted Amishman, while in an unconscious state, with a brief biographical sketch of his life. Iowa City, Iowa: 1879. 40 pp. B, G. German translation, 1879.

—— Troyer, Noah (1831-1878). *Predigten,* vorgetragen durch Noah Troyer, ein Glied der Amischen Mennoniten Gemeinde in Johnson Co., Iowa, während er in einem Stand der Unbewusstheit war, nebst einer kurzen Beschreibung seines Lebens. Übersetzt aus dem Englischen durch John F. Funk. Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Publishing Co., 1879. 77 pp. B, G. Reprint: Elkhart, Ind.: 1880. B, G

1880 Troyer, Noah (1831-1878). *Sermons* delivered by Noah Troyer, a member of the Amish Mennonite church, of Johnson Co., Iowa, while in an unconscious state. Second book. Containing six sermons not before published, together with several articles from other writers. Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1880. 103 pp. G. German translation, 1880.

—— Troyer, Noah (1831-1878). *Predigten* vorgetragen durch Noah Troyer, einem Glied der Amischen Mennoniten Gemeinde in Johnson Co., Iowa, während er in einem Stande der Unbewusstheit war. Zweites Buch. Enthaltend sechs noch nie gedruckte Predigten, nebst etlichen von Andern geschriebenen Aufsätzen. Uebersetzt aus dem Englischen. Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1880. 120 pp. B, G

1885 Sprunger, Samuel F. (1848-1923). *Neujahrsbetrachtungen,* von Prediger S. F. Sprunger. Berne, Ind.: Verlag der Christlichen Central-buchhandlung der Allgemeinen Conferenz der Mennoniten, 1885. 12 pp. B, G

1888 Anonymous Anabaptist. A sermon on Jeremiah 7:3, 4 and 9:8, author unknown, published as a part of *Zwei Altevangelische Schriften aus dem Jahre 1527* (*Von der wahren Liebe,* by Hans Denk, *Auslegung des Vaterunser,* by Hans Langenmantel). Elkhart, Ind.: 1888. 32 pp. B, G

1891 Sprunger, Samuel F. (1843-1923), compiler. *Festklänge.* Predigten von Mennoniten-Predigern aus den Vereinigten Staaten, Russland, Deutschland, Pfalz, Baiern und der Schweiz. Gesammelt und zusammengestellt von S. F. Sprunger. Berne, Ind.: Christliche Central-Buchhandlung, Welty & Sprunger, 1891. 190 pp. B, G

Contains sermons by J. B. Bär, S. Blickensdörfer, A. Görz, D. Görz, C. Harder, Daniel Hege, J. Hege, Johannes Molenaar, M. S. Moyer, Gerhard Neufeld, R. Petter, B. C. Roosen, A. B. Schelly, Chr. Schowalter, C. J. van der Smissen, A. A. Sommer, S. F. Sprunger, L. Sudermann, and C. H. Wedel.

1908 Hartzler, John Ellsworth (1879-). *Jacob's ladder in ten sermons,* by J. E. Hartzler. Introduction by D. H. Bender. Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Book and Tract Society (1908). 260 pp. G

1915 Huffman, Jasper Abraham (1889-). *Upper room messages,* by Jasper Abraham Huffman. Cincinnati: God's Bible School & Revivalist (1915). 203 pp. G

1924 Schultz, George P. (1880-). *Short talks on living themes,* by G. P. Schultz. Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1924. 96 pp. B, G

1925 Funk, John Fretz (1835-1930). *Sermon* preached by John F. Funk at the Mennonite church, Elkhart, Ind., Sunday, April 5, 1925, celebrating his ninetieth birthday, April 6, 1925. Elkhart, Ind.: James A. Bell Company, 1925. 8 pp. G

1927 Funk, John Fretz (1835-1930). *An address* by John F. Funk on the occasion of the ninety-second anniversary of his birth, at the Mennonite Church, Elkhart, Ind., April 6, 1927. Elkhart, Ind.: 1927. 15 pp. G

1935 Unruh, Abraham Heinrich (1878-). *Wir predigen Jesus Christus, den Gekreuzigten,* von A. H. Unruh. (Winkler, Man.: 1935.) 22 pp. B, G

1942-present Everest, Quinton J. (1907-). "Your Worship Hour" radio sermons, issued as booklets monthly. Goshen has sixty-three titles, issued in ninety-nine booklets, the earliest one for which the date has been established having been published in 1942.

1942 Janzen, Jacob Heinrich (1879-1950). *Briefe an unser Volk,* 65 kurze Predigten ausgewæhlt fuer jeden Sonn- & Festtag im Kirchenjahr. Waterloo, Ont.: 1942. B

1942-1945 Smucker, Donovan Ebersole (1915-). *The chapel of the air.* B

A series of sermons broadcast Sunday mornings by Donovan E. Smucker, pastor of the sponsoring church, the First Mennonite of Wadsworth, Ohio, evidently published weekly.

1943 Detweiler, William G. (1903-). *Needed teachings on the Christian home,* eight radio sermons. Seventh anniversary of "The Calvary Hour." Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1943. 73 pp. G

1945 Janzen, Jacob Heinrich (1879-1950). *Da ist euer Gott!* Eine Sammlung von Predigten fuer alle Sonn- und Festtage im Jahr, unter Leitung der Behörde für Innere Mission der Allgemeinen Konferenz der Mennonitengemeinschaft Nord Amerikas, verfaszt und herausgegeben von Jacob H. Janzen. Waterloo, Ont.: 1945. 358 pp. B, G

1946 Detweiler, William G. (1903-). *The Calvary Hour, Tenth Anniversary, 1936-1946,* including recent radio sermons by Wm. G. Detweiler. Orrville, Ohio: "The Calvary Hour" (1946). 69 pp. G

1946-present Detweiler, William G. (1903-). *Calvary Hour Sermons.* Radio sermons published weekly by "The Calvary Hour," Orrville, Ohio. Goshen College has issues 244-409, which includes some issues for 1953.

1947 Janzen, Jacob Heinrich (1879-1950). *Das Buch der Fehler zum Predigtbuch "Da ist euer Gott."* Mimeographed, 1947. 20 pp. G

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Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer, herausgegeben vom Verein für Reformationsgeschichte. Volume IV. *Baden und Pfalz* (edited by) Manfred Krebs (574 pp.); volume V. *Bayern II* (*Reichsstädte*) (edited by) Karl Schornbaum (314 pp.), both published by C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1951. Distributed in the U.S.A. through the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa. $9.00 and $5.00.

In 1949 the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* published an extensive report by H. S. Bender on the great project of the German Society for the Reformation History to publish all available source material related to the Anabaptists of the 16th and early 17th centuries (*Menn. Quart. Rev.*, 1949, 48-52). It was there pointed out that the strong financial support of this enterprise by the Historical Committees of the (old) Mennonite Church and of the General Conference Mennonite Church will enable an early publication of those volumes for which the manuscripts were readily at hand. Today it is a great pleasure to review the first two of these promised volumes, and to announce that more are forthcoming or in advanced preparation.

The two volumes under review are of quite unlike appearance, contents, and value. Volume IV, printed by Heinrich Schneider-Karlsruhe, presents itself in a very appealing form, and may be called fairly exhaustive as far as available sources are concerned. Its material is to a great extent of an intrinsic nature. Volume V, smaller in extent, and prepared by several collaborators under the general editorship of Professor Karl Schornbaum, covers material which within the history of South German Anabaptism is of secondary significance. No outstanding figure looms in Schornbaum's pages, and the enthusiasm for the Anabaptist ideas in these areas died out fairly early. What actually is proved by the documents is the country-wide distribution of the movement between 1527-8 and 1550. Perhaps the most valuable part of this volume is the *Nachtrag zu Band II,* the supplement to the earlier volume on Bavaria (ed. by Schornbaum in 1934), containing among other materials a noteworthy theological polemic document against the Brethren of 1528, and another pamphlet of 1530, called *Unterricht der neuen Irrsalen,* etc. These documents graphically demonstrate the complete inability of the dominant (Lutheran) churchmen to grasp the very meaning and lifeblood of the then so powerful Anabaptist movement which to them was simply heresy if not actually a sort of blasphemy. Highly welcome is the new topical index (prepared by Pastor Eberhard Teuffel), covering both volumes on Bavaria (vols. II & V). It will make the use of these publications doubly profitable.

Quite different is volume IV (*Baden and Palatinate*), very excellently edited by Dr. Manfred Krebs of the Karlsruhe Landesarchiv. In its 574 pages it covers, at least partly, material of prime importance, even though the editor regretfully admits that too many of the original sources had been destroyed in the vicissitudes of the centuries. Only certain remnants could be salvaged, yet they permit one to reconstruct a picture of great liveliness and strength. Some of the areas covered had been studied before, such as the Palatinate, for which Christian Hege's fine book, *Täufer in der Kurpfalz,* has been a very helpful guide since 1908. Other areas, such as, e.g., the Duchy of Pfalz-Zweybrücken, are here dealt with almost for the first time. Most valuable is the section dealing with the city of Constance. It was here that Ludwig Hetzer (the well-known translator of the Minor Prophets, and one of the few Anabaptists leaning toward Anti-Trinitarianism)

met his final fate in 1529. Another part of the book contains reports of the famous Frankenthal Debate of 1571, between representatives of the (Lutheran) state church and a number of Anabaptist leaders. Here we read a very revealing admission by one representative of the territorial church who, after listening to the arguments of the court preacher Dathenus, exclaimed, *Und ich blieb, denn ichs vorher wäre, dieses Datheni halber, der das Wort geführt, mein Lebtag ein Wiedertäufer* (p. 199). The genuineness of this Anabaptist faith and the shining lives in accordance with such a faith were the strength of the Anabaptists which no sophistication on the part of the official theologians could ever conquer. Also this volume contains a welcome topical index besides the usual name index.

In conclusion it might be worthwhile to appraise the whole enterprise of publication of the *Täuferakten*, i.e., archival documents dealing with the Anabaptist movement. What do these sources teach? The impression gained from the first volume (Bossert, 1930) has become even stronger today that this material, valuable as it might be for the territorial historian, does not actually reveal too much about the essence and core of the Anabaptist mind and strength. Time and again we read proceedings of court trials and court examinations in which the accused ones have but little opportunity to speak, and their adversaries become verbose in proving the heresy of the defendants. But whence comes the strength and spiritual superiority of the lowly ones? Very little can be learned from these archival sources in this regard—simply because the ruling class did not comprehend the very genius which made these people go their way, martyrdom or not. Few original documents from Anabaptist hands may be found in these volumes which abound primarily in court records, governmental orders (mandates), theological polemics, etc. The volumes are good for the territorial history of the Anabaptist movement, but for its inner history a different kind of source material would be needed.

Fortunately a few attempts in this direction are contemplated. The second volume of Lydia Müller's *Glaubenszeugnisse Oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Vol. I appeared in 1938), containing in the main the larger doctrinal writings of the Hutterites, is in preparation. It will represent a major contribution towards a picture of the inner life of the movement. Likewise contemplated is a volume of *Hutterite epistles* (as far as available), prepared by the present writer, which should also prove valuable to the same end. Still more could be done in this direction as the following review will reveal.

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Plow the Dew Under. By Helen Clark Fernald. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952. Pp. 301. $3.00.

Plow the Dew Under is the story of the Americanization of Ilya Palevsky, a young Mennonite immigrant who came from Russia to Gnadenau in Kansas in 1874. Ilya's leaving Gnadenau, over his father's objections, to work in Plainfield; his success, with the help of his young American friend, John Lessing, in selling hard-winter-wheat bakery products; and his triumph, despite the opposition of those who wished to drive the foreigners out of the country, as a successful business man in Kansas City, form the major episodes in this novel.

The novel fails, especially in its use of Mennonite materials. Though sympathetic, Mrs. Fernald does not understand even the external char-

acteristics of Russo-German Mennonitism. Her Mennonites are of Russian racial stock with Russian names like Palevsky, Baranova, and Osipov; and they think of themselves as Russians. While a good novel need not be a photograph of the local color of a community, the setting must be definite, consistent, and credible. Gnadenau is vague and unbelievable. Merely to call a community Mennonite is not enough to give it a Mennonite atmosphere. Gnadenau in this novel has no Mennonite atmosphere; it is without atmosphere.

More glaring than her failure to understand the external characteristics of Russo-German Mennonitism is Mrs. Fernald's lack of insight into Mennonite character. Religion has little place in the lives of the Mennonites of *Plow the Dew Under*. Although Karl Harner, the Santa Fe agent in Plainfield, early in the book tells a friend that "religion is very strong" with the Mennonites and that they have come because "they do not believe in fighting," there is no further indication that the Mennonites take religion seriously. Harner's next statement, that they came not only for freedom's sake but because of the land, than which "they could find no better . . . anywhere in the world," gives a better clue to the character of the Mennonites in the novel. These Mennonites are not farmers with "plow and Bible"; they have only the plow. Economics, not religion, motivates them.

The young people, too, are strange Mennonites. Like Aganetha Lozowick, one of their number, they all seem to have expected "to become American overnight, to live in an American town and immediately enter into its life." They are restless and rebellious, eager, like Ilya, "to go on to something big." They seem to have only one idea: to get away from the farm as quickly as possible. Mrs. Fernald's characters are Mennonites in label only. They are modern Americans with typically modern ideals of success, assuming that the values of a complex city life are superior to the simple values of the farm.

Even ignoring the unsuccessful use of Mennonite materials, *Plow the Dew Under* is still a poor novel. It fails in its serious purpose—to show that it is what a man does rather than what he is that is important—because so much of the novel is not relevant to that purpose and because the problem is greatly oversimplified. It fails as a story because it is episodic, rambling, and lacks unity. Some of the incidents are interesting, but too many seem childish and stupid. The central story—Ilya and John's popularization of hard-winter-wheat bakery products—is too slight to hold the reader's imagination.

The novel has a good title, and the material is promising; it is too bad that it had to be poorly used.

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